

Abraham, Genesis 20–22, and the Northern Elohist

Did northern Israelites remember Abraham as their founding ancestor? What was the status of Abraham in relation to Jacob, whose ancestral connection to Israel is more directly established (Gen 32,22-32)? I ask these questions because I think they reveal a fundamental difference between the two competing models in Pentateuchal criticism: the source model and the tradition-historical “block” model.

Let me briefly describe the current state of Pentateuchal criticism as I understand it. The most current debate centers on the tradition-historically oriented redaction-critical discussion on the “hiatus” between Genesis and Exodus and the ensuing investigation of the nature and scope of the Priestly and post-Priestly redaction that supposedly combined them on the literary level ¹. This movement is an outgrowth of the tradition-historical “block model”. Proposed by Rolf Rendtorff, this model purports to trace the development of each small unit from its earliest stage to the latest ². Rendtorff’s model was later championed by Erhard Blum ³ and has been introduced to North America by David Carr ⁴.

On the other side, there are proponents of the source model. Several groups hold this view. There are traditionalists who strive to maintain and defend the Documentary Hypothesis in the form of the Graf-Well-

¹ This movement is conveniently presented in two volumes of collected essays. J.C. GERTZ – K. SCHMID – M. WITTE (eds.), *Abschied vom Jahwisten. Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (BZAW 315; Berlin 2002); T.B. DOZEMAN – K. SCHMID (eds.), *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (Atlanta, GA 2006).

² R. RENDTORFF, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch* (BZAW 147; Berlin 1977) = *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* (JSOTSS 89; Sheffield 1990).

³ E. BLUM, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984); ID., *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch* (BZAW 189; Berlin 1990).

⁴ D.M. CARR, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis. Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY 1996).

hausen model. These include R.E. Friedman and E. Nicholson ⁵. There are “revisionists”, most notably John Van Seters and H.H. Schmid ⁶, who essentially transform the Yahwist into an exilic writer. Recently, another group, now called “Neo-Documentarians” ⁷, a group of Israeli and American scholars led by Baruch Schwartz, attempts to revitalize the source model by promoting source criticism as a purely literary endeavor, saving it from Wellhausenian historical abuse ⁸. Finally, there is a group of scholars who build their source model upon a tradition-historical framework, with E as a northern base tradition and J as its southern revision ⁹.

In this essay, I intend to clarify the dispute and identify the convergences between these two models. So how does asking about

⁵ R.E. FRIEDMAN, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York 1987); ID., “The Recession of Biblical Source Criticism”, *The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Scriptures* (eds. R.E. FRIEDMAN – H.G.M. WILLIAMSON) (SemeiaSt; Atlanta, GA 1987) 81-101; ID., *The Bible with Sources Revealed. A New View into the Five Books of Moses* (San Francisco, CA 2003); ID., “Three Major Redactors of the Torah”, *Birkat Shalom. Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (eds. C. COHEN – S.M. PAUL) (Winona Lake, IN 2008) 3-44; E.W. NICHOLSON, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century. The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford 1998).

⁶ E.g. J. VAN SETERS, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT 1975); ID., *In Search of History. Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, CT 1983); ID., *Prologue to History. The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville, KY 1992); ID., *The Life of Moses. The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville, KY 1994); H.H. SCHMID, *Der sogenannte Jahwist. Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zürich 1976). Also, C. LEVIN, *Der Jahwist* (FRLANT 157; Göttingen 1993).

⁷ For this designation, see T.B. DOZEMAN – B.J. SCHWARTZ – K. SCHMID (eds.) *The Pentateuch. International Perspectives on Current Research* (FAT 78; Tübingen 2011) 208, n. 2; 370, n. 3.

⁸ J.S. BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (FAT 68; Tübingen 2009); B.J. SCHWARTZ, “Does Recent Scholarship’s Critique of the Documentary Hypothesis Constitute Grounds for Its Rejection?”, *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, 12-14.

⁹ Z. WEISMAN, *From Jacob to Israel. The Cycle of Jacob’s Stories and its Incorporation within the History of the Patriarchs* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem 1986); ID., “The Interrelationship between J and E in Jacob’s Narrative: Theological Criteria”, *ZAW* 104 (1992) 177-197; T.L. YOREH, *The First Book of God* (BZAW 402; Berlin 2010).

northern Israelites' conception of Abraham help my discussion? The two models differ in the way they conceive of the nature of the basic unit around which their models are built. The source model presupposes the continuity of each source (horizontal continuity). Each source is construed as a complete, parallel, document about Israel's past. The block model is based on the premise that each tradition (e.g., the Abraham-Lot tradition or Jacob-Laban tradition) existed independently as tribal or local heritage ¹⁰. The full scope of Israel's history as we now know it arose only after they were combined.

In the non-Priestly patriarchal narrative, for instance, source critics understand the two early narrative sources, J and E, as parallel and complete documents, which originated within the two biblical kingdoms: Judah in the south and Israel in the north. Naturally, in this position, the northern tradition is equated with E; the southern tradition, with J. This corresponding political orientation has been widely assumed by source critics ¹¹. According to the block model, on the other hand, what constitutes the northern tradition within the patriarchal narrative makes up the core layer of the Jacob story (Genesis 25-33*) ¹². The southern tradition, if it existed independently, was mainly composed of the Abraham tradition. The block model, then, understands the current pre-P patriarchal narrative as the product of the southern expansion and revision of the original northern tradition ¹³.

To be sure, the exact nature of the authorship in source criticism and that of the provenance in tradition-historical criticism may not coincide. In the source model, the source writers' political orientation has little to do with the provenance of the collected tradition. That is, even if the Yahwist is from exilic Judah, his document may com-

¹⁰ M. NOTH, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1972) esp. 42-62 [German original: Stuttgart 1948].

¹¹ E.g. R.B. COOTE, *In Defense of Revolution: The Elohist History* (Minneapolis, MN 1991) 12; NICHOLSON, *The Pentateuch*, 14-15. For earlier positions see J. SKINNER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh ²1930) lvii; H. GUNKEL, *Genesis* (Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon, GA 1997) lxxv, n. 105 [German original: Göttingen ³1910].

¹² For arguments for the independent northern origin of the Jacob story, see CARR, *Fractures*, 204-215, 256-271, 298-300; A. DE PURY, "The Jacob Story and the Beginning of the Formation of the Pentateuch", *A Farewell to the Yahwist?*, 56-72.

¹³ CARR, *Fractures*, 203-208; BLUM, *Vätergeschichte*, 204-361.

prise both northern and southern traditions. Still, on the surface level, the two models conflict with each other: E is not equated with what tradition historians would identify as the northern tradition. In this regard, the Elohist Abraham section (Genesis 20-22*) provides the main divergence ¹⁴. This section belongs to E (hence, it is northern) in the source-critical scheme, but in the block model it is construed as southern. In other words, according to the tradition-historical model, before the northern tradition was taken over by Judeans, northern Israelites remembered their past mainly through the memory of Jacob, not Abraham.

One might object that discussing E sounds outdated in today's Pentateuchal scholarship. Today's emphasis on the late stage, however, does not minimize the necessity of continually clarifying the ever-elusive early stage of the composition history of the Pentateuch. Besides, studies on E, despite widespread skepticism, have not disappeared ¹⁵. More importantly, when issues of the northern tradition are tackled, scholars frequently return, quite uncritically, to the outdated Elohist criteria in identifying the northern tradition ¹⁶. Thus, even if my discussion is on the surface directed against the more traditional forms of the source model, its implications for all related branches within the source model must be recognized. So, I ask again, did northerners remember Abraham as their father?

¹⁴ Not surprisingly, this text has received some attention from scholars. T.D. ALEXANDER, *Abraham in the Negev. A Source-Critical Investigation of Genesis 20:1–22:19* (Carlisle, UK 1997); F. ZIMMER, *Der Elohist als weisheitlich-prophetische Redaktionsschicht. Eine literarische und theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung der sogenannten elohistischen Texte im Pentateuch* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 656; Frankfurt am Main 1999). Though very different in their approaches, both authors reject the northern orientation of the text.

¹⁵ To name some of the major contributions: H.W. WOLFF, "Elohistic Fragments in the Pentateuch", *Interpretation* 26 (1972) 158-173; A.W. JENKS, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions* (Missoula, MT 1977); H.L. GINSBERG, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (TSJTS 24; New York 1982); COOTE, *In Defense*; S.E. MCEVENUE, "A Return to Sources in Genesis 28,10-22?", *ZAW* 106 (1994) 375-389; ZIMMER, *Der Elohist*; A. GRAUPNER, *Der Elohist. Gegenwart und Wirksamkeit des Transzendenten Gottes in der Geschichte* (WMANT 97; Neukirchen-Vluyn 2002); WEISMAN, *From Jacob to Israel*; J. GOMES, *The Sanctuary of Bethel and the Configuration of Israelite Identity* (BZAW 368; Berlin 2006); YOREH, *The First Book of God*.

¹⁶ E.g. GOMES, *Bethel*; YOREH, *The First Book of God*.

I. Examining Arguments for the Northern Provenance of Genesis 20–22

I would like to begin by reading Genesis 20–22 without any methodological prejudice to see if it betrays any northern trait. This section contains accounts of Abraham's confrontation with a local chieftain regarding his wife (20,2-18; cf. 12,10-20), the birth of Isaac (21,1-7), Abraham sending away Ishmael and Hagar (21,8-21; cf. Genesis 16), making a covenant with Abimelech (21,22-34), and the sacrifice of Isaac (22,1-19). Read with a candid eye, that is, without an overarching source-critical system such as the divine-name principle, one hardly finds northern traits in Genesis 20–22. In fact, it is easier to find evidence of southern orientation. The main character in these accounts is Abraham, whose southern orientation is well established¹⁷. All the incidents occur in places in the south (Gerar and Beer-Sheba). There is no particularly pro-Israelite or anti-Judean tendency in any of these accounts. If this section had been written by the northern Israelites after they escaped from Solomon's despotic rule, one would expect to see a polemical stance against Abraham, whose tie with David was no secret.

Moreover, this section appears to constitute an integral part of the pre-P Abraham story. A structural unity of the pre-P Abraham tradition as a whole (i.e., including Genesis 20–22) has long been observed, and does not bear repeating here¹⁸. The mere fact that this structural unity has been so easily supplanted by the supposed unity of E reveals the ideological nature of source-critical readings. Moreover, Genesis 20–22 includes the climax of Abraham's life. It includes the eventual birth of Isaac, the fruit of the divine promise (12,1-3; 15,1-5), and Isaac's sacrifice and eventual deliverance. All of these have tremendous implications for the life of later Judeans, the ultimate recipients of the promise given to Abraham. Without this part, the initial promise is left unfulfilled¹⁹. It is incomprehensible

¹⁷ E.g. R.E. CLEMENTS, *Abraham and David*. Genesis XV and Its Meaning for Israelite Tradition (SBT 2/5; Naperville, IL 1967).

¹⁸ J.P. FOKKELMAN, "Time and the Structure of the Abraham Cycle", *New Avenues in the Study of the Old Testament*. Festschrift M.J. Mulder (ed. A.S. VAN DER WOUDE) (OTS 25; Leiden 1989) 96-109. See CARR, *Fractures*, 198-199, esp. n. 44 for a list of earlier literature. Contra: R.G. KRATZ, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (London 2005) 260-261 [German original: Göttingen 2000].

¹⁹ M.E. BIDDLE, "'The "Endangered Ancestress" and Blessing for the Nations", *JBL* 109 (1990) 599-611; ALEXANDER, *Abraham*, 102-110, 127.

that the Judean version of the Abraham story lacked a proper ending (except for the alleged fragmentary J layers in Genesis 20–22) for the story of their ancestor. It is equally difficult to suppose a later Judean redactor would replace J's (i.e., southern) original ending with that from the northern version (E). Whether one posits the now disputed R^{JE}²⁰ or any other later exilic or post-exilic redactor, the Judean orientation of the redactor is unquestionable. Why would a Judean redactor choose a northern version for this important section of the life of Abraham, the ancestor of the Judeans?

Indeed, no single classical source critic has argued for the northern origin of E directly from Genesis 20–22. Only as a corollary to the sweeping source-critical identification of E as a northern document did Genesis 20–22, as a portion of E, begin to carry this northern identification. In what follows, I have no intention of challenging the Elohist character of Genesis 20–22*. My challenge focuses on revealing the uncritical nature of the ensuing equation of Elohist with northern.

1. *Popular Arguments for E's Northern Origin Are Selective*

Standard arguments for E's northern provenance, mostly relying on tradition-historical criteria (such as a northern geographic setting and a pro-Israel, or anti-Judean, tendency²¹), are surprisingly selective. Since R.E. Friedman championed this particular point, the following discussion concerns his argument.

Friedman, like many others, highlights the prominence of Shechem or Peniel in some of the Elohist accounts and contrasts it with J material, which is predominantly rooted in southern locations, most notably Hebron; this is a classic source-critical argument²². Since Shechem and Peniel are notable northern cities (1 Kgs 23,25), at first sight this argument appears cogent. Upon closer examination, however, its selective nature becomes evident. All of Friedman's evidence, including points that are not mentioned here, comes exclusively out of E's Jacob, Joseph, and Moses sections. E's Abraham section (Genesis 20–22*) is entirely neglected. Furthermore, to the extent of my knowledge, few scholars, including

²⁰ BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction*, 11–43, 188–195, 209–254.

²¹ E.g. FRIEDMAN, *Who Wrote*, 62. Cf. CARR, *The Formation*, 473–475.

²² FRIEDMAN, *Who Wrote*, 62.

Friedman, have critically demonstrated that in the Jacob-Joseph-Moses section those northern attributes apply exclusively to its Elohist stratum. Conversely, all the evidence for J's southern orientation is conveniently selected from the Abraham section. How the J strands in the Jacob story, despite its northern geographic orientation, belong to the south is hardly discussed. In the end, Friedman must allow the northern affiliation of E's Jacob-Joseph-Moses sections to speak for its Abraham section.

Friedman's subsequent arguments that pertain to pro-Israel tendencies in E are undermined by similar selective and circular arguments. For instance, Friedman repeats a popular argument that in E's Joseph story Reuben tries to save an endangered Joseph, whereas in J it is Judah²³. Yet a closer look reveals that the pro-Judah layer is assigned to J only because J's southern orientation is presumed. Without that presumption, there is hardly a reason to take the Judah layer as southern. Noth remarked on the Reuben layer: "here, of course, we have before us a form of the tradition which is traditio-historically more original, but not a non-Judean or even a specifically 'north-Israelite' form"²⁴. In the end, none of his arguments for E's pro-Israel tendency includes E's Abraham section; no matter how impressive these arguments are, they hardly justify the northern orientation of Genesis 20–22.

For source critics like Friedman, this selectiveness posed minimal problems because they presumed a continuity of sources. The alleged continuity of sources is, however, what source critics must prove when faced with the tradition historians' challenge; they cannot presume it in order to defend their model. Traditional source critics would argue that the literary connection within the E corpus is proven by means of demonstrating common Elohistic background. But, after all, E's alleged continuity remains one of the highly contested elements of the Documentary Hypothesis²⁵. Carr puts this beautifully: "Analyses of E tend to seek certain textual beachheads, such as Genesis 20–22; 28:10–22*; and 37:3–11, 21–30, and then work outward from them to find the missing Elohistic context of these passages. This does not just involve locating passages

²³ FRIEDMAN, *Who Wrote*, 65.

²⁴ NOTH, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 230, n. 605.

²⁵ P. VOLZ – W. RUDOLPH, *Der Elohist als Erzähler*. Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik; an der Genesis erläutert (BZAW 63; Giessen 1933).

using the divine name Elohim. Instead, such early Elohist passages are identified through an ever-expanding range of vocabulary and thematic indicators developed first from the Elohist beachhead texts, and then from subsequent texts linked with them”²⁶. As source critics pursue a simpler model, the alleged unity established on these “indicators” is highlighted, whereas the “ever-expanding” nature and ensuing inner diversity within them have gradually dropped out of attention.

Some indicators reflect a prophetic influence; others show a wisdom background. Some indeed appear northern, but others southern. If one cannot say that the entire E corpus is prophetic, then it is equally true that not all of E is northern. Source critics frequently promote a corroborative use of these criteria, which often has a perlocutionary effect of showing their cautiousness concerning the division of sources. The other side of this collective usage, however, is their tacit sanctioning of selectiveness, which is inevitably influenced by their source-critical interest.

2. Elohist Qualities Do Not Necessarily Point to Northern Origin

If these popular arguments fail to support the northern orientation of E’s Abraham section, then one might suppose that the alleged Elohist qualities that source critics gather from the E layer of Genesis 20–22 would point to its northern origin. None of them does, at least not in any explicit manner²⁷. First, the consistent use of the divine title Elohim in Genesis 20–22 certainly has source-critical implications which tell against its parallel (cf. Gen 12,10–20 and Genesis 20), where YHWH is freely used. So I have no problem describing this section as Elohist, in the word’s basic sense—namely, as that which prefers Elohim. Still, the use of Elohim itself establishes no exclusive connection with northern Israel. Even most documentarians have to admit this. Friedman, for instance, says: “The mere fact that different stories [...] call God by different names of course proves nothing in itself”. He thinks that, when sources are divided accordingly, “we get a consistent series of clues that the E stories were written by someone concerned with

²⁶ CARR, *Fractures*, 146.

²⁷ Similarly, ALEXANDER, *Abraham*, 49–50.

Israel and the J stories by someone concerned with Judah”²⁸. Yet I do not see his “consistent series of clues” to be critically supported, as I discuss below. In no way have historians discovered evidence that northern Israelites were more reluctant to use YHWH while Judeans had no qualms employing it²⁹.

Second, the notion of ‘fear of God’, another well-established Elohist motif, is certainly better represented in Genesis 20 compared to its earlier parallel in Gen 12,10-20. Scholars such as H.W. Wolff supposed this theme central to the northern theology³⁰. Wolff was confident enough to pinpoint the Elohist to the time of Elijah when Israel faced some of its greatest cultic, political, and social temptations, prompting the Elohist to attempt to bring Israel back to obedience to God by focusing on the fear of God. Surprisingly, however, Wolff provides no basis for the alleged northern interest in the fear of God; he simply presumes it, apparently based on his source-critical framework. One may, again, agree that this notion is Elohist³¹, but, in order to say it is northern, one must first establish that the entire Elohist document originated from northern Israel, a thesis I am currently scrutinizing. That the Joseph story evinces the idea of the fear of God was frequently employed as a justification for its northern orientation. However, the Joseph story, according to source critics, also includes J layers. If so, unless one critically demonstrates how its E layer more prominently betrays the notion of fear of God, this argument is largely ineffective. Admittedly, the notion of fear of God may tentatively point to the influence of a wisdom or prophetic tradition. But, for that matter, Judah is as well represented as its northern neighbor. It is therefore not incidental that Zimmer, who highlights the wisdom and prophetic dimensions of Genesis 20–22, concludes that E belonged to exilic Judah³².

Third, it is commonly held that E has a more developed moral and theological perspective than J³³ and thus it prefers revelation in a dream

²⁸ FRIEDMAN, *Who Wrote*, 61.

²⁹ Cf. SKINNER, *Genesis*, xlix.

³⁰ See esp. WOLFF, “Elohist Fragments”, 67-82.

³¹ For a different view, see G.W. COATS, “Abraham’s Sacrifice of Faith”, *Int* 27 (1973) 396 n. 7; J.F. CRAGHAN, “Elohist in Recent Literature”, *BTB* 7 (1977) 27.

³² ZIMMER, *Der Elohist*, 286-293.

³³ Contra ALEXANDER, *Abraham*, 47.

or from a distance instead of J's direct revelation ³⁴. R. Gnuse, for instance, argues that the dream report was E's distinct motif; he also simply presumes its northern orientation ³⁵. It is difficult to prove, however, that the motif was available exclusively to the northern Israelites. That a supernatural being reveals itself in dreams is one of the most common ideas in ancient civilizations. Not incidentally, at the heart of southern historiography one finds Solomon's famous dream report (1 Kgs 3,4-15). E's more developed theological view by itself does not point to a northern origin, either; it does so only when it is interpreted in an evolutionary perspective that posits the more developed evidence as the later evidence. As I discuss below, this is largely rejected today.

3. *Prophetic Quality Provides Inconclusive Evidence*

The fact that Abraham is called *nābî'* in Gen 20,7 has been repeatedly used, despite occasional objections³⁶, as a critical piece of evidence of this section's northern origin ³⁷. While early source critics had limited interest in this aspect, the equation of "prophetic" (or levitical) with Elohist has become increasingly popular, and more so among nonspecialists, specifically in the field of prophetic literature ³⁸. Yet this point is not critically supported, either.

³⁴ J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*. With a Reprint of the Article Israel from the Encyclopaedia Britannica (New York 1957) 361 [German original: Berlin 1878]; SKINNER, *Genesis*, lii; G. VON RAD, *Genesis*. A Commentary (OTL; Philadelphia, PA 1972) 26-27 [German original: Göttingen 1961].

³⁵ R. GNUSE, "Dreams and Their Theological Significance in the Biblical Tradition", *CurTM* 8 (1981) 166-171; ID., "Dreams in the Night-Scholarly Mirage or Theophanic Formula? The Dream Report as a Motif of the So-Called Elohist Tradition", *BZ* 39 (1995) 28-53; ID., "Northern Prophetic Traditions in the Books of Samuel and Kings as Precursor to the Elohist", *ZAW* 122 (2010) 380. For a critique of using dream theophany as a source criterion, see M. LICHTENSTEIN, "Dream-Theophany and the E Document", *JANESCU* 2 (1969) 45-54.

³⁶ E.g. GUNKEL, *Genesis*, lxxviii; C. WESTERMANN, *Genesis 12-36*. A Commentary (Minneapolis, MN 1985) 324 [German original: Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981].

³⁷ WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, 361; SKINNER, *Genesis*, 315; VON RAD, *Genesis*, 27, 228-229; JENKS, *Elohist*, 104.

³⁸ E.g. R.R. WILSON, "Early Israelite Prophecy", *Interpreting the Prophets* (eds. J.L. MAYS – P.J. ACHTEMEIER) (Philadelphia, PA 1987) 9.

First, we must ask whether the mere fact that Abraham is called *nābī'* and given a role of intercession constitutes enough evidence to mark this text as prophetic. True, the protagonist is given a prophetic vocation. God acknowledges the efficacy of the prophet's intercession (Gen 20,7). Still, whether Abraham's prophetic office is depicted positively in the text remains debatable. The disobedience of the prophet, namely, failing to protect the matriarch, once again, before a foreign king — this time, more importantly, in the wake of the eventual birth of the promised son — is contrasted with the seemingly just actions of the antagonist. This reminds the reader of the account of Jonah and the Gentile sailors (Jonah 1). One can also read this in light of false prophecy insofar as God grants Abraham a prophetic office despite ascribing a less just status to the seeker of prophetic service (reminiscent of 1 Kgs 13,11-32)³⁹. One may even take the above-mentioned character portrayals as anti-prophetic sarcasm. If so, this twisted attitude toward prophecy may not necessarily point to the time of Elijah and Elisha.

Second, we must ask whether a mere indication of a prophetic quality proves its northern provenance. In the past, scholars have generally ascribed prophecy somewhat exclusively to the north before it allegedly found its way to the south after the fall of Samaria in 722 BCE⁴⁰. The unstated assumption behind this idea is J's traditional early dating, based on which J predates the rise of prophecy. Some have made this objection on the grounds of evidence of early prophetic activity in Judah, found either in J (cf. Gen 15,1) or in David's history⁴¹. More problematic, however, is today's dominant tendency to give a late date to J. If its late date is accepted, there remains no reason to disqualify J from containing prophetic qualities. In fact, the main argument in support of H.H. Schmid's late date for J was precisely this — J's wide-ranging affinity with prophetic literature. A closely related point is Alt's influential thesis concerning the charismatic monarchy of north Israel, since the role of prophet is prominent in Israel's supposed charismatic leadership (Cf. 1 Samuel 12, Deut 17,14-20). This thesis, however, is widely contested⁴². As a result, it became more difficult to take a prophetic quality as an indicator of a northern provenance.

³⁹ Cf. VON RAD, *Genesis*, 225-228.

⁴⁰ E.g. E.W. NICHOLSON, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia, PA 1967) 94.

⁴¹ NOTH, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 230, n. 604.

II. Fundamental Basis: Wellhausen's Evolutionary Scheme

1. *Influence and Critique of the Evolutionary Scheme*

I turn now to the most fundamental basis for designating E as a northern document. One of the most influential aspects of Wellhausen's presentation of the Documentary Hypothesis was the lucidity of his evolutionary scheme around which the history of the religion of Israel was reconstructed. And it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the attribution of E's northern origin was informed as much by the reputation of his evolutionary scheme as by textual evidence. For Wellhausen, it was certain that the more "primitive" J is earlier than E, which "shows a more advanced and thoroughgoing religiosity"⁴³. Wellhausen did not explicitly connect this relative dating of his Jehovist sources (J and E) to their political orientations; he thought it impossible to neatly separate the two sources and accordingly showed little interest in discussing their respective provenance⁴⁴. Yet subsequent scholarship frequently took his evolutionist assessment of E's late date, relative to J, as the basis for designating E as a northern document⁴⁵. Due to its earlier date, J is generally assigned to the period of the united monarchy (either to the tenth or ninth century BCE), the earliest stage in which a literary production of this kind is thought possible. Then there remained only one other historical setting in which the more developed E could fit: the following era in which northern Israel acquired independent statehood.

This argument appears overly simplistic in today's intellectual atmosphere. The very fact that early critics were content with assigning two literary manifestations to two different polities of Israel is a cardinal example of their simplistic perspective. True, two kingdoms shared one God. Each led a politically independent life and developed its distinct theological and ideological perspectives. Against this backdrop, assigning the two pre-exilic sources to each of these kingdoms appears reasonable. The unstated assumption, however, is that discordant ideas could not have coexisted in one

⁴² E.g. G. BUCCELLATI, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria. An Essay on Political Institutions with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms* (Rome 1967); T. ISHIDA, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel. A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology* (BZAW 142; Berlin 1977).

⁴³ WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, 361.

⁴⁴ RÖMER, "The Elusive Yahwist", 12-13.

⁴⁵ E.g. SKINNER, *Genesis*, liv-lviii.

society. This idea is now highly contested. Baden recently said: “Wellhausen’s Enlightenment mindset prevented him from accepting the possibility, now accepted with little hesitation, that more than one concept of Israelite religion and history could have existed simultaneously”⁴⁶. Wellhausen’s evolutionary scheme is rejected by most scholars⁴⁷. Even today’s strongest proponents of the Documentary Hypothesis do not give this scheme much credit⁴⁸. So the rejection of the evolutionary scheme seriously undermines the relative dating of J and E. In Baden’s words, “If we reject Wellhausen’s gross evolutionary framework as flawed — and the majority, if not the entirety, of scholarship has — then we should also reject his relative dating of J and E on these grounds”⁴⁹.

Moreover, even if one successfully defends J’s earlier date, today an early date does not automatically translate into the Davidic period, an era that is increasingly slipping from the grasp of biblical historians. As opposed to earlier biblical historians who followed the biblical presentation of Israel’s history⁵⁰, which depicts Israel as the people of a common faith, a common ancestry, and a common historical experience, today that presentation’s validity is seriously questioned⁵¹. The historicity of founding narratives of the Bible has been challenged⁵². Archaeology and social-science approaches consistently reveal the real picture behind the grand depiction of David and Solomon’s empire as a mere chiefdom that was “little more than Israel’s rural hinterland”⁵³.

⁴⁶ J.S. BADEN, *Rethinking the Supposed JE Document* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 2007) 241. Similarly, ID., *J, E, and the Redaction*, 308.

⁴⁷ Even earlier, not all accepted this. Notably, NOTH, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 38, n. 143.

⁴⁸ E.g. BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction*, 313; YOREH, *The First Book of God*, 7.

⁴⁹ BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction*, 33.

⁵⁰ E.g. M. NOTH, *The History of Israel* (New York 1960) [German original: Göttingen 1950]; J. BRIGHT, *A History of Israel* (Louisville, KY 1998).

⁵¹ For a helpful synthesis of this recent development, see M.B. MOORE – B.E. KELLE, *Biblical History and Israel’s Past. The Changing Study of the Bible and History* (Grand Rapids, MI 2011).

⁵² E.g. T.L. THOMPSON, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives. The Quest for the Historical Abraham* (BZAW 133; Berlin 1974); VAN SETERS, *Abraham*.

⁵³ I. FINKELSTEIN – N.A. SILBERMAN, *The Bible Unearthed. Archaeology’s New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts* (New York 2001) 159.

A naïve acceptance of the biblical portrayal of the common origin of Judah and Israel is questioned ⁵⁴. In the end, biblical historians have learned that the real history of Israel and Judah must be distinguished from its biblical portrayal, which was informed by much of the theological and political interests of later periods ⁵⁵.

To be sure, these are highly contested issues that will continue to be debated. Still, even though one may not admit these recent challenges to their fullest extent, it becomes increasingly difficult to deny their implications for source criticism ⁵⁶. One of the main bases that source critics defended against tradition-historical claims for independence of individual traditions is that both Israelites and Judeans shared stories of the past. According to them, even if a tradition was originally rooted in south or north at its oral level, those disparate traditions were later fused into a collective memory. This fusion must have happened either in the alleged tribal amphictyony or in the united monarchy. Then, with the theory of amphictyony no longer holding ⁵⁷, it means that skepticism over the grandeur of David's (southern and northern) empire indicates the loss of a melting-pot era in which a common identity would have been forged.

Necessary questions then follow: When did this shared memory arise, and who combined disparate traditions together? This precisely is the kind of question that recent European scholars ask when they highlight the pre-P "hiatus" between the exodus and the patriarchal traditions. That is, before P put these together, it is claimed, the exodus tradition and the patriarchal traditions existed independently as competing myths of Israel's origin. In our case, likewise, we focus on the hiatus between the Abraham tradition (from the

⁵⁴ FINKELSTEIN – SILBERMAN, *The Bible Unearthed*, 149-158; P.R. DAVIES, "The Trouble with Benjamin", *Reflection and Refraction* (eds. R. REZETKO – T.H. LIM – W.B. AUCKER) (VTS 113; Leiden 2007) 109; ID., "The Origin of Biblical Israel", *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context. A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman* (eds. Y. AMIT et al.) (Winona Lake, IN 2006) 145.

⁵⁵ See P.R. DAVIES, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"* (JSOTSS 148; Sheffield 1992); ID., *The Origins of Biblical Israel* (LHBOTS 485; New York 2007).

⁵⁶ E.g. J.L. SKA, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (Winona Lake, IN 2006) 129-131. For a defense, see SCHWARTZ, "Recent Scholarship's Critique", 12-14.

⁵⁷ M. NOTH, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (Darmstadt 1930). For a critique, see A.D.H. MAYES, *Israel in the Period of the Judges* (London 1974).

south) and the Jacob tradition (from the north). The nature of these two cases of hiatus is analogous. In the exodus tradition, the land is presented as unknown⁵⁸, not connected to the land of the patriarchs in Genesis before the Priestly literary connections combined them together. Similarly, in the Jacob tradition, before literary combinations with the Abraham tradition were made, the land promised to him is unknown and unrelated to the land promised to Abraham⁵⁹. The deity revealed to Jacob at Bethel does not presume an existing tie with the patriarch⁶⁰.

The hiatus is of course a literary one. It does not mean an utter ignorance of the other tradition in the mind of the populace or in oral tradition; it simply points out that they were not necessarily conceived of as a continuous course of history until the decisive literary combination was made. This thesis directly challenges the traditional understanding that the Yahwistic and Elohist corpore encompass both bodies of Israel's past memory (i.e., of Jacob and Abraham).

2. Did Northerners Remember Abraham?

With this, we come back to our original question: did northerners remember Abraham as their father? The foregoing discussion has made it clear that the source-critical equation of E with northern tradition is not justified⁶¹. When the uncritical basis for assigning the Elohist Abraham tradition to northern tradition is taken away, there remains no ground for positing that northerners remembered Abraham as their father.

The northern tradition (Jacob-Joseph-Moses) formed before the fall of the kingdom did not remember Abraham as the founding father of Israel. That role was certainly given to Jacob, the bearer of the name

⁵⁸ RENDTORFF, *Process of Transmission*, 128; K. SCHMID, *Erzväter und Exodus*. Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments (WMANT 81; Neukirchen – Vluyn 1999) = *Genesis and the Moses Story* (Siphut 3; Winona Lake, IN 2009).

⁵⁹ CARR, *Fractures*, 203–211.

⁶⁰ Gen 28,13*–14 where YHWH is introduced as the God of Abraham and Isaac is generally considered a later insertion. For a succinct discussion, see, K.P. HONG, “The Deceptive Pen of Scribes: Judean Reworking of the Bethel Tradition as a Program for Assuming Israelite Identity”, *Bib* 92 (2011) 431–436.

⁶¹ Cf. ALEXANDER, *Abraham*, 22–25.

Israel⁶². True, northerners might have known Abraham, but perhaps as one ancestral figure of their southern neighbors—in other words, as their father, not necessarily as our father. After the fall of Samaria, the northern Jacob tradition was taken up and expanded by the Judeans. We do not know exactly how this acquisition was made⁶³. We do not know whether it was available in a literary form or was readily known through oral transmission. What we know is the fact that somehow southerners knew of this northern tradition and adopted it into their tradition — but not before decisively reformulating it.

The identity reconstruction of Judeans after the fall of Israel and the ensuing revolutionary reception of the northern tradition laid the foundation for definitively rewriting the new memory of Israel's past. Now Abraham shares not only a place in Israel's ancestry as one of the fathers but the leading position in the rudimentary triad in Israel's pedigree: Abraham-Isaac-Jacob. I call it a revolution — a revolution in Judeans' self-identity. They no longer identified themselves as mere observers of the great Yahwistic heritage of their northern neighbor⁶⁴. They became the new Israel, the sole heir of YHWH⁶⁵.

To be sure, a rewritten history may not have immediately affected the collective memory of the past. But when this reformulation of the ancestral history by the hand of southerners later formed the foundation of the Torah, as authoritative religious literature, it began to influence decisively those who conceived of themselves as Abraham's descendants. Slowly and steadily, the once independent and competing fathers of Israel and Judah began to co-inhabit the memory as Israel's common past⁶⁶.

⁶² Cf. YOREH, *The First Book of God*, 78.

⁶³ For the popular notion of the influx of northern refugees, see FINKELSTEIN – SILBERMAN, *The Bible Unearthed*, 243-245. For recent critique, see N. NA'AMAN, "When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City? The Rise of Jerusalem as Judah's Premier City in the Eighth-Seventh Centuries B.C.E.," *BASOR* 347 (2007) 21-56; P. GUILLAUME, "Jerusalem 720-705 BCE: No Flood of Israelite Refugees", *SJOT* 22 (2008) 195-211.

⁶⁴ FINKELSTEIN – SILBERMAN, *The Bible Unearthed*, 146-150.

⁶⁵ N. NA'AMAN, "The Israelite-Judahite Struggle for the Patrimony of Ancient Israel", *Bib* 91 (2010) 14-23; HONG, "The Deceptive Pen of Scribes".

⁶⁶ In the apocryphal literature, the attention given to Abraham (33 times) increased almost comparably to that of Jacob (43 times), and then, in the New Testament, Abraham occurs 69 times and Jacob 26 times. This perhaps signifies a growing reputation of Abraham as the founding ancestor of Israel.

The trace of this gradual change in the memory of the ancestral history is embedded in biblical literature. The memory of Abraham as the father of Israel is sparse in early biblical tradition outside the Pentateuch. Even when his name appears, Abraham is remembered seldom alone but mostly as the head of the triad Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. That is, within the Pentateuch, Abraham is mentioned always within the triad ⁶⁷. Outside the Pentateuch, Abraham occurs only twenty-five times, among which only four times (Isa 51,2; 63,16; Ezek 33,24; Neh 9,7-8) is Abraham remembered independently of Jacob. The formation of the triad, as several scholars have pointed out, has a late origin ⁶⁸. In contrast, Jacob is remembered as an ancestral figure much more frequently. The majority of these instances occur outside the Pentateuch (134 times), more than five times the occurrences of the name of Abraham. Among them, only twice (2 Kgs 13,23; Jer 33,26) is Jacob remembered as a part of the triad. That is, unlike Abraham, Jacob is mostly remembered independently as the father of Israel outside the Pentateuch. Particularly noteworthy is the status of these patriarchs in prophetic literature, especially in eighth-century prophecy, which channels early witnesses. The wealth of memory of Jacob as the father of Israel in Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Jeremiah is starkly contrasted with the dearth of memory of Abraham as the father in those books. This probably means that Jacob's status as the founding father of Israel is independent of and precedes the later formation of the ancestral triad. It is only later in the history of Israelite thought that Abraham began to be remembered independently as the founding figure of the people of YHWH.

How to reconstruct the development of Abraham's status in Israelites' memory constitutes a subject of its own. But at least one can say that the absence of Abraham, as well as Jacob's independence from him in early biblical tradition, supports our conclusion that northern Israelites did not remember Abraham as their father.

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⁶⁷ Exod 2,24; 3,6.15.16; 4,5; 6,3.8; 32,13; 33,1; Lev 26,42; Num 32,11; Deut 1,8; 6,10; 9,5.27; 29,13; 30,20; 34,4.

⁶⁸ E.g. R.J. TOURNAY, "Genèse de la triade 'Abraham-Isaac-Jacob'", *RB* 103 (1996) 321-336; M. KÖCKERT, *Vätergott und Väterverheißungen. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albrecht Alt und seinen Erben* (FRLANT 148; Göttingen 1988).

The foregoing discussion reveals a critical flaw in the source model's categorical claim for E's northern provenance. It is true that most of the Elohist tradition has northern roots, but not all of it has. We found little basis for assigning the Elohist Abraham section to a northern origin. To be sure, this does not mean that source criticism must be rejected entirely. What is challenged is a claim for the Elohist document's northern origin. Any source model that assumes that the E document was written down in the northern kingdom of Israel has to face the question of how the Abraham tradition, which is tradition-historically of southern origin and later than the northern kingdom as a political entity, happened to be included in E before it was adopted by Judeans.

This problem is most apparent, of course, in the traditional source model, like that of Friedman, in which the northern orientation of E is not only assumed but also used as one of the main criteria for identifying E. This applies also to Yoreh's tradition-historically compromised source model (northern base tradition with southern revision). In identifying the northern base tradition, Yoreh simply returns to and relies on the traditional source-critical criteria, in which E's northern provenance is, as demonstrated above, not critically justified but only secondarily imposed⁶⁹. As a result, he has to deal with the presence of the Abraham tradition (southern) in the middle of his northern Elohist corpus, which resulted in an unnecessarily complex explanation for the role of Abraham in relation to Jacob in E⁷⁰. On the other hand, Neo-Documentarians, in theory, do escape most of the present criticism, insofar as the notion of E's northern orientation belongs to the elements secondary to the Documentary Hypothesis — the elements that are also dismissed by Neo-Documentarians⁷¹. But in practice Baden accepts the traditional identification of Genesis 20–22* as E⁷². He also appears to accept E's northern origin when he implies that E came down to Jerusalem and somehow retained its independent form until it was finally compiled by the one and only post-exilic redactor that he posits⁷³.

⁶⁹ YOREH, *The First Book of God*, 10, 91, 157, 228.

⁷⁰ YOREH, *The First Book of God*, 69–72. He argues that in E's presentation, Isaac was actually killed and sacrificed. In E, therefore, Abraham's line is annexed from Israelite history at this point.

⁷¹ BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction*, 313; SCHWARTZ, "Recent Scholarship's Critique", 13.

⁷² BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction*, 215, n. 13.

⁷³ BADEN, *J, E, and the Redaction*, 255–286, 309–310.

True, Baden's model brings much-needed refinement to source criticism, but its refinement centers on the proper way of identifying sources based on narrative flow and contradicting historical claims. This study calls for a further refinement of the distinction between the provenance of traditions included in E and the orientation of E as a document.

In short, recognizing the significance of the late emergence of the southern Judean identity formed around Abraham and its competing relation with the earlier northern Israelite identity formed around Jacob helps us see more clearly the problem intrinsic to some branches of source criticism, as well as the necessity of the tradition-historical inquiry as a necessary companion to any literary-historical study.

Yonsei University
50 Yonsei-ro Seodaemun-gu
Seoul, South Korea

Koog P. HONG

SUMMARY

This article addresses the provenance of the Elohist Abraham section (Genesis 20–22*) in order to clarify the divergence between the source and tradition-historical models in pentateuchal criticism. Examining arguments for E's northern provenance demonstrates that none of them applies directly to E's Abraham section. The lack of Abraham tradition in early biblical literature further undermines the source model's assumption of Israel and Judah's common memory of the past. The southern provenance of Genesis 20–22 is more likely, and the current combination of Abraham and Jacob traditions is probably a result of the Judeans' revision of Israelite tradition.

Passah und Mazzot — Ein Überblick über die Forschung seit dem 19. Jahrhundert

Bis zum Aufkommen der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments stellte der Ursprung des Passahfestes kaum ein Rätsel dar: Entsprechend der biblischen Darstellung wurde das Fest eingesetzt und zum ersten Mal gefeiert, als JHWH Israel aus Ägypten befreite. Erst als mit dem historisch-kritischen Paradigma diese Darstellung nicht mehr als selbstverständlich gelten konnte, war der Boden bereitet für von der biblischen Darstellung abweichende Theorien über Ursprung und Wesen von Passah und Mazzot.

In seinem Kommentar zum Bundesbuch meint C. Houtman zur Erforschung der Geschichte von Passah und Mazzot: “Die Puzzelstücke der jeweiligen Texte lassen offensichtlich eine Kombinierung in allerlei Variationen zu, die in stets neuen Theorien ausmünden”¹.

Da eine systematische Darstellung der immer komplexer werdenden Diskussion rund um Passah und Mazzot fehlt, ist vorliegender Beitrag der Versuch, diese Lücke wenigstens skizzenhaft auszufüllen um eine rasche Orientierung in der Diskussionslage zu ermöglichen.

I. Historische Forschung vom 19. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts

Dem Exegeten, der in der Flut der Literatur² zu ertrinken droht, mag die Bemerkung von J.F.L. George (1835), er habe “in Beziehung auf die Entwicklung der Jüdischen Feste eigentlich keine Vorarbeiten gehabt”³, geradezu fantastisch anmuten. Hier finden wir die Anfänge der historisch-kritischen Diskussion um das Passahfest. Schon gut vierzig Jahre vor J. Wellhausens (1878) erstmals erschienenen *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*⁴ hat George einige wesentliche Pflöcke eingeschlagen.

¹ C. HOUTMAN, *Das Bundesbuch*. Ein Kommentar (Leiden 1997) 318.

² Vgl. die umfassende Literaturliste (Stand 1989) bei E. OTTO, “פסח *pāsah*”, *TWAT* VI, 659-664.

³ J.F.L. GEORGE, *Die älteren jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch* (Berlin 1835) XVI.

⁴ J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin 1878).

Folgendes sind die wichtigsten Thesen, mit welchen George⁵ und Wellhausen⁶ — beide mit im 19. Jhd. verwurzeltem historischem Forschungsansatz — der modernen Forschung rund um das Passah den Weg bereiteten:

- Das Deuteronomium ist älter als die priesterlichen Texte (so auch schon George vor Wellhausen)⁷, folglich ist Dtn 16,1-8 älter als Ex 12,1-20; Lev 23 und Num 28, wobei Lev 23 als Bestandteil des Heiligkeitgesetzes auch ältere Stücke enthalten kann. Darum kann Lev 23,9-22 für das Verständnis der Herkunft des Festes beigezogen werden⁸.
- Der Ursprung des Festes ist in der Natur (Gerstenernte) zu suchen, alle drei Jahresfeste (Mazzot, Wochenfest und Laubhüttenfest) waren ursprünglich Erntefeste. Das erste Jahresfest ist darum ursprünglich ein Mazzot-, nicht ein Passahfest.
- Die Historisierung des Passahfestes findet sich zum ersten Mal im Deuteronomium. Nach George wurde die Darbringung der Erstgeburt des Viehs, die ja keinen natürlichen Termin hat, auf das erste Erntefest gelegt und dann später, als man Gesetze in der Zeit von Mose verankern wollte, historisiert, was sich zum ersten Mal auf der Stufe von Dtn 16,1-8 zeigt. Nach Wellhausen wurde überhaupt "die geschichtliche Motivierung des Pascha erst vom Deuteronomium vollzogen"⁹.
- Eine Zwischenstufe zur priesterlichen Gesetzgebung sieht Wellhausen in Ez 45,21-25, der "in keiner Einzelheit dem Deuteronomium widerspricht und doch dem Priesterkodex so unendlich viel näher steht"¹⁰. Lev 23 und Num 28 sind dann die von der Kultzentralisation des Deuteronomiums geprägten priesterlichen Versionen zu den Festen, wobei die Beziehung zur Ernte verloren ist und der dreigliedrige Festzyklus durchbrochen ist.
- Nach George findet im bzw. nach dem Exil eine grössere Veränderung statt (Num 28,16-17): Das ursprüngliche Passahfest wird auf-

⁵ Für das Passahfest: GEORGE, *Feste*, 222-258.

⁶ WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, 80-114.

⁷ GEORGE, *Feste*, 10.

⁸ Die Vorordnung des Deuteronomiums vor den priesterlichen Texten wird freilich nicht aus einer Untersuchung der Passah- und Mazzottexten gewonnen, sondern bereits bei George und dann auch bei Wellhausen an diese herangetragen. Eine ergebnisoffene Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Ex 12, Lev 23 und Dtn 16 hat es bis heute nicht gegeben.

⁹ WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, 84-85.

¹⁰ WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, 103.

geteilt in das Passah und das Fest der ungesäuerten Brote. Grund dafür sei, dass sich nach dem Exil die Zeitrechnung verändert habe, "indem man den Tag nicht mehr mit dem Abend, sondern mit dem Morgen begann"¹¹. Hat der Passah-Abend ursprünglich zu Tag 1 des siebentägigen Festes gehört, begann Tag 1 deshalb plötzlich erst am ersten Morgen danach und der Passah-Abend fiel somit auf Tag 0. Durch die Aufteilung des Festes war es möglich, das Fest immer noch als siebentägiges zu benennen, auch wenn es faktisch zu einem achttägigen wurde. An allen Stellen im Alten Testament wurden die beiden Feste unterschieden, später nannte man dann das ganze Fest Passah, was sich im Neuen Testament niederschlägt.

Schon Wellhausen sah die Ursprünge des Passah in einem Hirtenfest (Darbringung der Erstgeburt). Dies trifft auch für L. Rost (1943)¹² zu, dessen These eine breite Rezeption erfahren hat. Aus einem Vergleich von Ex 12,1-28 mit Bräuchen arabischer Nomaden schloss er, dass das Passah seinen Ursprung in einem nomadischen Ritus beim Weidewechsel hatte, der dazu diente, sich aus dem Herrschaftsbereich eines Wüstendämons zu lösen. Schon in dieser knappen Skizze seiner These wird deutlich, dass Rosts methodischer Ansatz religionsgeschichtlicher Art ist: Der Versuch, die Ursprünge des Passah zu rekonstruieren, geschieht über Vergleichsmaterial aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments mittels Analogieschlüssen.

Eine weitere These, die rezipiert wurde und darum hier zu nennen ist, stammt von É. Dhorme (1937)¹³. Ihm zufolge spiegelte Ex 12,2-11 sehr lebendig das alte nomadische Passah: "Tel est le rituel de la Pâque dans sa primitive simplicité et je ne trouve point d'exemple plus typique du sacrifice des nomades"¹⁴. Dass von Häusern die Rede ist, zeige zwar, dass der Text selbst nicht mehr aus nomadischer Zeit stamme. Doch seien die Bräuche so tradiert, wie in Kirchen Kerzen brennen als Erinnerung an die Fackeln, die einst in den Katakomben als Licht dienten. Dhorme ging die verschiedenen Elemente durch und erklärte an ihnen, dass sie gut zu einem Nomadenfest passen. Er selbst lebte und lehrte in Jerusalem und beschrieb, wie es ihm

¹¹ GEORGE, *Feste*, 244.

¹² L. ROST, "Weidewechsel und altisraelitischer Festkalender", *ZDPV* 66 (1943) 205-215.

¹³ É. DHORME, *L'évolution religieuse d'Israël I: La religion des Hébreux nomades* (Bruxelles 1937) 210-212.

¹⁴ DHORME, *Évolution*, 211.

vergönnt war, selbst an einem einfachen Nomadenfest teilzunehmen: Da seien Schafe auf einem improvisierten Kohlenfeuer geröstet worden und als Beilage habe man ein wenig Wasser mit Mehl gemischt und den Teig auf Kohlen oder einer heissen Platte gebraten. An die Verwendung von Hefe sei dabei nicht zu denken gewesen: “C’est pourquoi les azymes figurent dans le menu pascal”¹⁵. Während in der neueren Urkundenhypothese durch die Spätdatierung von P Ex 12 zu den spätesten Passah-Texten gehört, sah Dhorme – und viele Gelehrte nach ihm – gerade in diesem Text eine alte, nomadische Tradition lebendig.

II. Kritische Auseinandersetzung mit dem bestehenden Konsens durch das Aufkommen der überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Fragestellung

Während religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Passah und Mazzot, die stark mit Vergleichsmaterial aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments arbeiteten – wobei die Bräuche arabischer Nomaden im Vordergrund standen –, weiterhin unternommen wurden, brachte das Aufkommen überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Fragestellungen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts neue Impulse für die Forschung. Bis dahin blieb das Grundschema nach Wellhausen über Jahrzehnte hinweg mit geringen Modifikationen erhalten. Doch namentlich mit dem überlieferungsgeschichtlich arbeitenden Josuakommentar von M. Noth (1938)¹⁶ begann dieser Konsens zu bröckeln. Noth argumentierte, in Jos 5,10-12 sei die Verbindung des Passah mit dem Essen der ungesäuerten Brote noch kein kultischer Brauch und die Verbindung von Mazzot und Röstkorn spreche dagegen, die Verse P zuzuschreiben (gegen Wellhausen). Nur die Zeitangaben würden einer priesterlichen Bearbeitung entstammen.

H.-J. Kraus (1958)¹⁷ knüpfte an Noth an: “Das herkömmliche historische Schema, das vor allem von J. Wellhausen ausgebaut worden ist und heute beinahe überall in Geltung steht, bedarf einer eingehenden

¹⁵ DHORME, *Évolution*, 212.

¹⁶ M. NOTH, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT I.7; Tübingen 1938) 17.

¹⁷ H.-J. KRAUS, “Zur Geschichte des Passah-Massot-Festes im Alten Testament”, *EvT* 18 (1958) 47-67.

Revision”¹⁸. Jos 5,10-12 gehöre “zum ursprünglichen Bestand der Gilgal-Traditionen”¹⁹, was mit einer “sehr früh anzusetzenden ‘Historisierung’ der Passah-Massot-Festes im amphiktyonischen Heiligtum Gilgal, in der Richterzeit” zu erklären sei²⁰. Die Historisierungen des Mazzot-Festes in Ex 23,15 und Ex 34,18 seien demnach nicht deuteronomistisch und die Notiz in 2.Kön 23,22 keine unhistorische Mitteilung.

Im selben Jahr forderte unabhängig von Kraus E. Auerbach (1958)²¹ den historischen Konsens seit Wellhausen heraus, kam aber zu einer genau entgegengesetzten Schlussfolgerung. Auch er kritisierte Wellhausens These, dass das Fest im Deuteronomium historisiert werde. Doch die eigentliche Historisierung hat ihm zufolge nicht früher, sondern später stattgefunden, nämlich im Priesterkodex. Dies bedeutete zugleich, dass Auerbach eine priesterliche Redaktion in Dtn 16,1-8 postulieren und die Historisierungen in Ex 23,15 und Ex 34,18 nicht für deuteronomistisch, sondern für priesterlich halten musste. Bei Auerbachs These standen nicht Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Fragestellungen im Hintergrund. Ausgangspunkt war für ihn die Verwendung des Wortes חַדָּשׁ in Dtn 16,1. Das Wort habe vorexilisch “Neumond” und erst seit dem Exil “Monat” bedeutet. In Dtn 16,1, wo es zweimal vorkommt, könne es das erste Mal nicht “Monat” meinen, da es keinen Sinn mache, die Beobachtung des Monats zu befehlen, das zweite Mal könne es dagegen nicht “Neumond” meinen, weil an keiner Stelle im AT der Exodus auf den Neumond datiert ist. Der zweite Teil des Verses sei also priesterlich eingearbeitet. Da Ex 23,15 vorexilisch ist, müsse dort חַדָּשׁ ebenfalls “Neumond” bedeuten. Der Satz “Sieben Tage sollst du Mazzot essen, wie ich dir befohlen habe”²² dagegen müsse “*mit Sicherheit als Zusatz des PK*” betrachtet werden²³, da man nicht am Neumond sieben Tage Mazzot essen kann. Dazu kam, “bis jetzt nicht erkannt”²⁴, die Feststellung, dass in Dtn 16,3a.4b ein “genaues Zitat” von Ex 34,25 (und Ex 23,18) vorliegt. An allen drei Stellen stehen die Bestimmungen, kein gesäuertes Brot zum Opferfleisch zu essen und nichts bis zum

¹⁸ KRAUS, “Geschichte”, 47.

¹⁹ KRAUS, “Geschichte”, 50.

²⁰ KRAUS, “Geschichte”, 57.

²¹ E. AUERBACH, “Die Feste im alten Israel”, *VT* 8 (1958) 1-18.

²² Ebenso die daran anschliessende historische Begründung.

²³ AUERBACH, “Feste”, 7.

²⁴ AUERBACH, “Feste”, 3.

Morgen übrig zu lassen, zusammen. V. 4b gehöre darum direkt hinter 3a und alles dazwischen sei ein priesterlicher Einschub, dazu bestimmt, Passah und Mazzot miteinander zu verbinden. In dieser Verbindung liegt nach Auerbach auch der Grund, weshalb die ursprüngliche Dauer des Mazzot-Festes von sechs Tagen (Dtn 16,8) in P auf sieben Tage ausgedehnt wurde. Dieses Modell von Auerbach fand zunächst wenig Rezeption. Der Sache nach wurde die These einer priesterlichen Bearbeitung von Dtn 16,1-8 in den 1990er Jahren von T. Veijola wieder zur Geltung gebracht (vgl. dazu unten).

Die Kritik am bestehenden Modell von zwei Seiten — Kraus und Auerbach — sollte freilich nicht den Eindruck erwecken, als ob damit das alte Modell in der gesamten Forschung aufgegeben wurde. Während Auerbachs Aufsatz kaum eine Diskussion auslöste, griff R. de Vaux (1960)²⁵ die überlieferungsgeschichtliche Argumentation zu Jos 5,10-12 auf. Zwar rechnete er die Verse anders als Wellhausen nicht P zu, sondern folgte im Wesentlichen der überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Argumentation von Kraus, doch wandte er gegen die Meinung, die Stelle beweise die vordeuteronomische Verbindung von Passah und Mazzot, ein, dass die Worte “am Tag nach dem Passah” womöglich eine Glosse seien, da sie in den wichtigsten griechischen Textzeugen fehlen und dem darauffolgenden Ausdruck “am selben Tag” widersprüchen. Ferner meinte er: “On a plutôt l’impression d’une tradition indépendante, qui reflète un usage du sanctuaire de Gilgal mais qui ne prouve pas qu’au début de l’installation en Canaan on ait uni la Pâque et une fête des Azy-mes telle qu’elle est décrite dans les autres textes”²⁶. Dazu kam nach de Vaux, dass die gemäss der neueren Urkundenhypothese ältesten Festkalender Mazzot und nicht Passah erwähnten und die beiden erst in der ersten Redaktion des Deuteronomiums verbunden seien. All dies führte ihn dazu, grundsätzlich beim herkömmlichen Modell zur Entwicklung von Passah und Mazzot zu bleiben. Was den getrennten Ursprung der beiden Feste betrifft, so bewegte sich de Vaux ebenfalls im Rahmen der Forschung seit George und Wellhausen: Das Passah sei ursprünglich ein sehr altes Hirtenfest, das in die halbnomadische Zeit Israels zurückreiche (darin schloss er

²⁵ R. DE VAUX, *Les institutions de l’Ancien Testament II*. Institutions militaires, institutions religieuses (Paris 1960) 383-394.

²⁶ DE VAUX, *Institutions*, 388.

an Dhorme an), das Mazzot ein agrarisches Fest, möglicherweise von den Kanaanitern übernommen.

In einem zweiten Beitrag widmete sich de Vaux (1964)²⁷ vor allem den Einzelheiten des Passah-Opfers. Im Anschluss an Rosts These vom Weidewechsel waren ihm die apotropäischen Riten arabischer Nomaden wichtigstes Vergleichsmaterial für eine religionsgeschichtliche Deutung. Was die Entwicklung von Passah und Mazzot betrifft, so fügte er seinem älteren Beitrag wenig Neues hinzu: Die Verbindung der beiden Feste setzte er nachjosianisch aber vorexilisch an, ausgehend von der Annahme, dass das Heiligkeitsgesetz – und damit Lev 23,5-8 – vorexilisch am Jerusalemer Tempel kodifiziert sei.

Die Beiträge von Kraus, Auerbach und de Vaux stecken im Wesentlichen das Spektrum ab, in welchem sich die Forschung seit dem Aufkommen des überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Ansatzes bewegte.

P. Laaf (1970) schloss sich der Meinung einer alten Tradition in Jos 5,10-12 an²⁸. In einer literarkritischen und überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Analyse der verschiedenen Texte kam er zum Schluss, dass Ex 12,21-23 die früheste Erwähnung des Passah-Brauches sei. Der Ex 12,21-23 zugrundeliegende vorjahwistische Passah-Text habe die Verbindung mit Mazzot noch nicht gekannt. Erst der Jahwist habe Passah und Mazzot verbunden. Der These von Rost folgend, meinte er, dass der Passah-Ritus "unbewusst Anhaltspunkte für eine Verbindung des Ritus mit dem Auszug aus Ägypten" geboten habe²⁹.

H. Haag (1971)³⁰, der auch den Passah-Artikel für den *DBS* verfasste (1960)³¹, sah im Passah-Ritus einen uralten nomadischen Brauch, der nicht auf eine mosaische Stiftung zurückgehe, sondern in seinen Grundelementen "bereits in vormosaischer Zeit von israelitischen und anderen semitischen Sippen praktiziert worden" sei³². War der nomadische Ursprung im Gefolge von Rost und Noth "in der

²⁷ R. DE VAUX, *Les sacrifices de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris 1964) 7-27.

²⁸ P. LAAF, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels*. Eine literarkritische und überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studie (BBB 36; Bonn 1970) 86-91.

²⁹ LAAF, *Pascha-Feier*, 168.

³⁰ H. HAAG, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha*. Geschichte und Theologie des Osterfestes (SBS 49; Stuttgart 1971).

³¹ H. HAAG, "Pâque", *DBS* VI (1960) 1120-1149.

³² HAAG, *Pascha*, 43.

kritischen Forschung weithin Gemeingut geworden”³³, so sah Haag im Anschluss an Dhorme insbesondere im “priesterschriftliche[n] Text Ex 12,1-14” die Tradierung einer “sehr alten Überlieferung”³⁴. Dhorme habe eindrücklich gezeigt, dass dieser Text “nur von der Welt wandernder Hirten her zu begreifen ist”³⁵. Fazit: “Es kann also kaum einen Zweifel darüber geben, dass die Pesachverordnung Ex 12,1-14 auf uraltes nomadisches Brauchtum zurückgeht”³⁶. Dass also Ex 12,1-14 wesentliche Elemente des Passah-Ritus in ihrer ältesten Form bewahrt habe, bedeutete für Haag, dass schon in der Zeit vor der deuteronomischen Kultreform die israelitische Historisierung des Nomadenpassah stattgefunden hat³⁷. So, wie die Priesterschrift die ältesten nomadischen Traditionen am reinsten bewahrt habe, so sei in ihr aber auch die ursprüngliche Trennung von Passah und Mazzot noch am besten wahrnehmbar. Erst zur Zeit der josianischen Kultzenralisation habe man sich bemüht, die beiden Feste zu einem zu verschmelzen (Dtn 16,1-8). Wenn Haag auch in Ex 12,1-14 uralte Traditionen sah, so hielt er doch im Rahmen der neueren Urkundenhypothese diesen Text, in welchem sich altes nomadisches Überlieferungsgut “mit den Interessen der Exilsituation” vermenge, für exilisch³⁸. Hier wird die Verbindung der Urkundenhypothese mit der Überlieferungskritik deutlich: Die jüngsten Texte mögen die ältesten Traditionen bewahren.

Die These des nomadischen Ursprungs des Passah kann als Kernthese überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Passah-Forschung gelten. Auch O. Keel (1972)³⁹ ging von Rosts These des Weidewechsels als Ursprung des Passah-Ritus aus, modifizierte sie aber dahingehend, dass das Blut am Eingang des Zelt es seine Bewohner am Ende der winterlichen Regenzeit davor bewahren sollte, von der Verwüstung der Steppe mitbetroffen zu werden. Ebenso übernahm R. Schmitt (1975)⁴⁰ den Weidewechsel-Ursprung des Passah und

³³ HAAG, *Pascha*, 45.

³⁴ HAAG, *Pascha*, 44.

³⁵ HAAG, *Pascha*, 48.

³⁶ HAAG, *Pascha*, 53.

³⁷ HAAG, *Pascha*, 58-63.

³⁸ HAAG, *Pascha*, 85.

³⁹ O. KEEL, “Erwägungen zum Sitz im Leben des vormosaischen Pascha und zur Etymologie von פֶּסַח”, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 414-434.

⁴⁰ R. SCHMITT, *Exodus und Passah. Ihr Zusammenhang im Alten Testament* (OBO 7; Göttingen 1975) 49-52.

auch Kraus' These der nicht nur vordeuteronomischen, sondern auch vorjahwistischen Historisierung des Passah, die bereits in Ex 12,21-23 und in Jos 5,10-12 vorausgesetzt sei. Eine weniger frühe, aber dennoch vorpriesterliche (nämlich dt/nachdt) Verbindung von Passa und Mazzot in Jos 5,10-12* vertrat E. Otto (1975) ⁴¹. Vordeuteronomisch gab es ihm zufolge in Gilgal ein Mazzotfest, das mit einer Beschneidungsfeier (Jos 5,2-5.8b) verbunden war.

Zu nennen ist schliesslich noch die Studie von J. Henninger (1975) ⁴², die sich, ausgehend von Frühlingsriten moderner Araber und der zentralen Rolle, die besonders das Erstlingsopfer dabei spielt, in die Vergangenheit vorarbeitet. Schon in vorislamischer Zeit (Rajab-Opfer) sah Henninger die Verbindung von Erstlingsfrüchten und Blutopfern an den Wendepunkten des pastoralen und agrarischen Jahres im Frühling und Herbst gegeben. Von hier aus schloss er auf Israels Festkalender und deutete das Passah-Opfer als Erstlingsgabe, wobei er die Praxis auf die nomadische Zeit zurückführte. Auch Vergleichsmaterial aus Syrien und Mesopotamien und schliesslich sogar Afrika und Zentralasien diskutierte er, mit dem Resultat, dass es gemeinsame Elemente, aber auch deutliche Unterschiede gebe. Die Studie von Henninger knüpft nicht so sehr an die bibelwissenschaftliche Diskussion im Rahmen der Urkundenhypothese oder der biblischen Überlieferungsgeschichte an, sondern ist eher eine religionsvergleichende Studie, die im Kern aber durchaus nach den Ursprüngen und der Bedeutung des israelitischen Passah fragt.

III. Grundsätzlich vom Konsens der neueren Urkundenhypothese abweichende Studien

So unterschiedlich die bis dahin präsentierten Studien zur Geschichte von Passah und Mazzot auch sind, so ist ihnen doch allen gemein, dass sie grundsätzlich von der neueren Urkundenhypothese und damit von der Reihenfolge JEDP ausgingen, oder sich zumindest nicht dagegen wandten. Zwei Studien, die schon in der Zeit, wo die neuere Urkundenhypothese noch einen breiten Konsens hatte, von diesem Konsens grundlegend abwichen, verdienen hier Erwähnung.

⁴¹ E. OTTO, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal* (BWANT 107; Stuttgart 1975) 175-199.

⁴² J. HENNINGER, *Les fêtes de printemps chez les Sémites et la Pâque israélite* (Paris 1975).

J.B. Segal (1963)⁴³ kündigte schon im Vorwort eine Auseinandersetzung mit den modernen Theorien zu Ursprung und Entwicklung des Passah an, die den Leser "in a position to assess the plausibility of those theories" bringen werde⁴⁴. Ausgehend von diversen Synopsen der Passah- und Mazzotgesetze kam er zum Schluss, dass zwar die Existenz verschiedener Dokumente nicht von der Hand zu weisen sei, dass man in der Annahme der Urkundenhypothese bei der Zuordnung dieser Dokumente aber nicht weiterkomme: "The dissection of the text into J, E, JE, D, H and P does not provide us with several complete, coherent narratives or even a single complete narrative in place of our present composite narrative"⁴⁵. Anstelle der Segal zufolge nicht hilfreichen Urkundenhypothese betonte er die Komplementarität der verschiedenen Texte: "The crucial point, however, is that each document stresses some particular aspect of the ritual; they supplement each other"⁴⁶. Nach Zurückweisung der Urkundenhypothese wandte sich Segal dem Material aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments zu. Sowohl den pastoralen Ursprung des Passah wie auch den agrarischen Ursprung von Mazzot hielt er vom altvorderorientalischen Vergleichsmaterial her für ungenügend begründet. Besonders aber stellte er den getrennten Ursprung der beiden Feste infrage. Seiner eigenen Auffassung zufolge handelte es sich beim Passah von Alters her um ein Neujahresfest, auf welches schon immer das Mazzotessen gefolgt war. Sehr ausführlich versuchte er, die verschiedenen Elemente des Passahfestes in ihrer Funktion für das Neujahresfest zu beschreiben, sei es die Wahl der Tiere, der Blutritus oder die Details der Mahlzeit.

Einen eigenen Weg in der Passah-Mazzot-Diskussion ging auch M. Haran (1972)⁴⁷, welcher der sogenannten Kaufmann-Schule angehörte, die P wesentlich älter einstuft als dies in der neueren Urkundenhypothese getan wird⁴⁸. Zum einen wies er Wellhausens

⁴³ J.B. SEGAL, *The Hebrew Passover. From the Earliest Times to A.D. 70* (LOS 12; London 1963).

⁴⁴ SEGAL, *Passover*, vii.

⁴⁵ SEGAL, *Passover*, 72.

⁴⁶ SEGAL, *Passover*, 76.

⁴⁷ M. HARAN, "The Passover Sacrifice", *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (VTS 23; Leiden 1972) 86-116.

⁴⁸ Zur Kaufmann-Schule vgl. T.M. KRAFF, *Die Priesterschrift und die vorexilische Zeit*. Yehezkel Kaufmanns vernachlässigter Beitrag zur Geschichte der biblischen Religion (OBO 119; Fribourg – Göttingen 1992).

These, dass das Passah sich aus dem Erstgeburtsoffer heraus entwickelt habe, zurück. Auch in P (Ex 13,1-2; Lev 27,26-27; Num 18,15-18) seien beide voneinander unterschieden, ebenso in D, J und E. Wenn sich das Erstgeburtsoffer zum Passah entwickelt hätte, dann hätte es nicht als Erstgeburtsoffer weiter existiert ⁴⁹. Auch mache es keinen Sinn, die Hinweise in Ex 23,18 und 34,25 auf das Passah als spätere Einschübe zu betrachten, während man gleichzeitig Ex 12,21-27, wo das Passah-Opfer ja bereits vorhanden sei, J zuschreibe. Weiter argumentierte Haran, dass Ex 23,18 und Ex 34,25 sich als ganze auf das Passah beziehen und dabei mehrere Elemente aus Ex 12,1-20 voraussetzen: “Scholars seem to have been prevented from realizing this because of the *damnosa hereditas* of the consensus that P is exceedingly late” ⁵⁰. Anschliessend zeigte er, dass Dtn 16,1-8 an verschiedenen Stellen literarisch von Ex 23,15.18; 34,18.25 und 13,3-7 abhängig ist. Da D “already understood the two directions that occur in Exod xxiii 18, xxxiv 25 as referring to pass-over, and based on them his own instructions regarding this sacrifice, it may be fairly assumed that this is actually their meaning” ⁵¹. Seine wichtigste Schlussfolgerung war, “that all the biblical sources already recognize the passover sacrifice as linked to the feast of unleavened bread” ⁵². Nicht nur die Historisierung, sondern auch die Verbindung von Passah und Mazzot ist ihm zufolge also in allen biblischen Texten vorausgesetzt.

IV. Auseinanderbrechen des Konsens bezüglich des Ursprungs von Passah und Mazzot

“Comme Kraus a cru devoir soumettre à un nouvel examen le schéma historique proposé jadis par Wellhausen, il faut faire de même pour son interprétation de la nature de la fête”, schrieb B.N. Wambacq (1980) ⁵³. Damit kam ihm freilich J. Halbe in zwei Beiträgen (beide 1975) zuvor ⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ HARAN, “Passover”, 94.

⁵⁰ HARAN, “Passover”, 101.

⁵¹ HARAN, “Passover”, 107.

⁵² HARAN, “Passover”, 110.

⁵³ B.N. WAMBACQ, “Les Maṣṣôt”, *Bib* 61 (1980) 34.

⁵⁴ J. HALBE, “Passa-Massot im deuteronomischen Festkalender. Kompo-

In Ersterem wandte Halbe sich der in der Zwischenzeit stärker in den Fokus geratenen Komposition von Dtn 16,1-8 zu: Liegt ein Passah-Text zugrunde, in welchen sekundär das Mazzotfest eingefügt wurde, oder "wurden umgekehrt die Passa-Elemente in eine traditionelle Massot-Ordnung eingesetzt"?⁵⁵ Halbe arbeitete für Dtn 16,1-7 eine konzentrische Struktur heraus, in deren Mitte die Mazzot-Verordnungen stehen (3aß-4a). Da insbesondere V.1 verschiedene Elemente mit dem Passah verbindet, die in nichtpriesterschriftlichen Parallelen dem Mazzot zugeordnet sind und da sich Ex 13,5-7 als Vorlage für Dtn 16,1.3-4 plausibel machen lässt, kam er zum Schluss, dass das Passah in eine ursprüngliche Mazzotordnung eingearbeitet worden sei. Ziel der Redaktion bestand nach Halbe darin, das Passa zum ersten Wallfahrtsfest des Jahres zu erheben.

Im zweiten Beitrag ging Halbe dann dem Ursprung und Wesen des Mazzotfestes nach. In drei Thesen wandte er sich gegen die schon von George und Wellhausen aufgestellte Annahme eines agrarischen Ursprungs:

1. Keine Überlieferung bezeugt den agrarischen Ursprung⁵⁶.
2. Mazzot tritt in zentralen Elementen aus der Reihe der Bauernfeste⁵⁷.
3. Die Annahme bäuerlichen Ursprungs versagt als Erklärung der wichtigsten Züge des Festes⁵⁸.

Sein eigener Lösungsvorschlag kehrt die alte These des getrennten Ursprungs von Passah und Mazzot um: Mazzot sei ursprünglich nicht ein eigenes Fest gewesen, sondern die ungesäuerten Brote "ein gut zu verstehendes Element der ursprünglichen Passafeier"⁵⁹. In Jos 5,10-12* sei "eine beginnende Verselbständigung des Massot-elements im alten Passaritus reflektiert"⁶⁰ mit dem Ziel, ein Fest für die Bauern zu schaffen "als Antwort der Jahwereligion aufs sesshaft

sition, Entstehung und Programm von Dtn 16,1-8", *ZAW* 87 (1975) 147-168; DERS., "Erwägungen zu Ursprung und Wesen des Massotfestes", *ZAW* 87 (1975) 324-346.

⁵⁵ HALBE, "Passa-Massot", 147.

⁵⁶ HALBE, "Erwägungen", 325-334.

⁵⁷ HALBE, "Erwägungen", 334-335.

⁵⁸ HALBE, "Erwägungen", 335-338.

⁵⁹ HALBE, "Erwägungen", 339.

⁶⁰ HALBE, "Erwägungen", 343.

gewordene Leben”⁶¹. Dtn 16,1-8 zielt dann auf eine Restauration der alten Zugehörigkeit der Mazzot zum Passah ab.

Zog Halbe den agrarischen Ursprung des Mazzotfestes in Zweifel, so Wambacq (1976) unabhängig von ihm zunächst den Ursprung des Passah als eines Hirtenfestes⁶². Die Weidewechselthese von Rost liess sich ihm zufolge nicht aufrecht erhalten, da die arabischen Riten im Unterschied zum Passah nicht *vor* der Abreise stattfanden, sondern nach Ankunft und Besiedelung eines neuen Platzes. Anschliessend ging er der Geschichte des Passahfestes nach, auch in zwischentestamentarischer Literatur (Jubiläenbuch 49,16-21) und bei Josephus, und kam zum Schluss, das Verspeisen des Passah-Lammes in den Häusern anstelle des Heiligtums sei erst nach 100 v. Chr. eingeführt worden. Ein Mazzotfest sei nie losgelöst vom Passah erwähnt. Entgegen der immer wieder vorgetragenen These, dass das Passah mit der josianischen Reform eingeführt wurde, wies Wambacq darauf hin, dass in 2.Kön 23,22 von einem Passah wie dieses die Rede sei: “Pour l’auteur, la Pâque célébrée par Josias n’était pas une innovation, mais une restauration”⁶³, und zwar “célébrée depuis l’entrée en Canaan dans les sanctuaires locaux, ensuite, depuis la réforme du Deutéronome, dans le sanctuaire unique”⁶⁴. Wohl unabhängig von Wambacq zog zeitgleich auch Schreiner (1977) die Weidewechselthese in Zweifel⁶⁵.

In zwei weiteren Artikeln wandte sich Wambacq dann auch Mazzot und der Verbindung von Passah und Mazzot zu (1980 und 1981)⁶⁶. In Ersterem wies er in einem *Postskriptum* darauf hin, dass sein Beitrag bereits fertiggestellt war, als er Kenntnis des Artikels von Halbe (vgl. oben) erhielt. Unabhängig von Halbe kam er zum selben Schluss: Das Mazzotfest war nie ein agrarisches Fest. Es war von Anfang an ein *ḥag*, das an einem Heiligtum gefeiert wurde und nur einen Tag dauerte (darin unterscheidet er sich von

⁶¹ HALBE, “Erwägungen”, 345.

⁶² B.N. WAMBACQ, “Les origines de la *Pesah* israélite”, *Bib* 57 (1976) 206-224; 301-326.

⁶³ WAMBACQ, “Les origines”, 223.

⁶⁴ WAMBACQ, “Les origines”, 224.

⁶⁵ J. SCHREINER, “Exodus 12,21-23 und das israelitische Pascha”, *Studien zum Pentateuch. Walter Kornfeld zum 60. Geburtstag* (Hrsg. G. BRAULIK) (Wien 1977) 70-75.

⁶⁶ B.N. WAMBACQ, “Les Maṣṣôt”, *Bib* 61 (1980) 31-54; DERS., “*Pesah* - Maṣṣôt”, *Bib* 62 (1981) 499-518.

Halbe). Das Mazzotfest sei vom Brauch, sieben Tage lang Mazzot zu essen, ursprünglich zu unterscheiden. Im zweiten Beitrag wandte Wambacq sich der Frage zu, wie Passah und Mazzot zusammengefunden haben. In Dtn 16,1-7 sei das Mazzotfest in Passah umbenannt worden. Nach dem Exil sei der Brauch, Mazzot zu essen, dem Passah-Ritus hinzugefügt worden. Dabei habe man den letzten Tag des Mazzotessens zu einem Mazzotfest erhoben. Nach Wambacqs These müssen also alle Erwähnungen des siebentägigen Mazzotessens nachexilische Zusätze sein ⁶⁷.

V. Die Diskussion um Ursprung und Geschichte von Passah und Mazzot nach dem Auseinanderbrechen des Konsens der neueren Urkundenhypothese

In den 1970er Jahren brach der grosse Konsens der neueren Urkundenhypothese durch zwei Monographien von J. Van Seters und R. Rendtorff zusammen ⁶⁸. Damit stand wieder fast alles zur Debatte. Für die Erforschung von Passah und Mazzot hatte dies, soweit ich sehe, insbesondere in zwei Richtungen eine Auswirkung. Einerseits war damit die relative Chronologie JEDP nicht mehr selbstverständlich. Andererseits führte die Ablösung der neueren Urkundenhypothese durch zunehmend redaktionelle Pentateuchmodelle dazu, dass die entsprechenden Texte im Pentateuch unter redaktionskritischen Gesichtspunkten analysiert wurden.

Beides verband sich bei J. Van Seters (1983) ⁶⁹. Er knüpfte an die Dekonstruktion der lange weithin angenommenen Ursprünge von Passah und Mazzot durch Halbe und Wambacq an, schloss daraus aber weitergehend als diese, dass es keine Hinweise für das Alter

⁶⁷ Vgl. HOUTMAN, *Bundesbuch*, 319, der zwar die Richtigkeit einiger Beobachtungen von Wambacq einräumt, dann aber meint: "Andererseits ist die Periode von sieben Tagen so stark in den Texten verankert, dass man bei einer Akzeptanz von Wambacqs These gezwungen ist, mit einer eingreifenden Bearbeitung zu rechnen".

⁶⁸ J. VAN SETERS, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT – London 1975); R. RENDTORFF, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch* (BZAW 147; Berlin 1977).

⁶⁹ J. VAN SETERS, "The Place of the Yahwist in the History of Passover and Massot", *ZAW* 95 (1983) 167-182.

des Passah oder gar für vorisraelitische nomadische Ursprünge desselben gebe. Er lehnte überlieferungsgeschichtliche Argumentationsweisen ab und unternahm eine literarkritische Neubewertung des Textbefundes. Dabei sticht heraus, dass er Ex 12,21-27 nicht länger für jahwistisch mit deuteronomistischen Zusätzen hielt, sondern Ex 12,1-28 insgesamt für priesterlich ⁷⁰. Ex 12,21-27 könne sicher nicht für sich alleine als Ätiologie für das Passafest dienen, zumal ausser dem Blut-Ritus das Fest kaum mit Inhalten gefüllt sei. Gerade dieser Blut-Ritus passe aber nicht zu J. Umgekehrt nannte er mehrere Gründe, warum der Abschnitt zu P passt: Erstens die Terminologie ⁷¹; zweitens könne man Ex 12,21-27 unmittelbar an 12,1-14 anhängen; drittens sei der Blut-Ritus deutlich priesterlich geprägt. Des Weiteren wies Van Seters die Zusätze in Ex 13,3-16 zurück. Der Abschnitt sei insgesamt jahwistisch. Der priesterliche Passah-Text in Ex 12,1-28 enthalte zudem nicht eine eigenständige priesterliche Tradition, sondern sei bereits mit Blick auf die jahwistische Geschichte hin komponiert worden. Da Van Seters das Deuteronomium dem Jahwisten zeitlich vorordnete, musste er schliesslich eine jahwistische Überarbeitung von Dtn 16,1-7 postulieren, welche aus Ex 13 die Mazzot-Elemente in Dtn 16,3-4 eingearbeitet hat.

Sah Van Seters in Dtn 16,1-7 das älteste Passah-Gesetz des Pentateuch, so äusserte auch J.G. McConville (1984) ⁷² Zweifel daran, dass "Deuteronomy's legislation is best dated between JE and P" ⁷³, was er freilich nicht im Sinne einer Vorordnung von D vor JE meinte, sondern im Sinne einer Vorordnung P's vor D. Er wandte sich gegen die Annahme, dass Passah und Mazzot erst im Deuteronomium miteinander verbunden wurde. Dieser Annahme liegen ihm zufolge zwei Voraussetzungen zugrunde: Erstens, dass die beiden Feste getrennte Ursprünge haben, Passah in der nomadischen Vergangenheit Israels und Mazzot in agrarischen kanaanäischen Festbräuchen. Doch diese Thesen waren besonders durch Halbe (und Wambacq, den McConville nicht er-

⁷⁰ Dafür hatte er vereinzelte Vorläufer, z.B. H.G. MAY, "The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes", *JBL* 55 (1936) 70-74; WAMBACQ, "Les origines", 208, n. 7.

⁷¹ Er nennt für V. 21 שֶׁחַט, für V. 22 אֹזֶבֶת, טָבַל, כֶּסֶף, מִשְׁקָן und die Wendung לַחֲקִילָךְ וּלְבִנֶיךָ עַד-עוֹלָם in V. 24.

⁷² J.G. McCONVILLE, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy* (JSOTS 33; Sheffield 1984) 99-123.

⁷³ McCONVILLE, *Law*, 110.

wähnte) ins Wanken geraten. Zweitens, dass die beiden Feste vordeuteronomisch nicht verbunden wurden. Auch hier konnte er an ältere Forschungen zu Jos 5,10-12, aber auch zu Ex 23,15 und 34,25 anknüpfen. Dazu kam, dass er die seit Wellhausen selten diskutierte Voraussetzung angriff, dass die P Texte jünger sind als Dtn 16,1-8: Der Rückverweis in Ex 23,15/34,18 auf die bestimmte Zeit im Monat Abib könne sich, so McConville, nur auf Ex 13,4.6 oder Ex 12,17-19 beziehen. Da Ex 13,4.6 selbst einen bestimmten Tag im Monat Abib voraussetzt, müsse Ex 23,15 sich letztlich auf Ex 12,17-19 zurückbeziehen, also auf P. Wenn P nicht von vornherein jünger sein muss, sah McConville keinen überzeugenden Grund, die entsprechenden Phrasen in Ex 23,15 und Ex 34,18 für spätere redaktionelle Zusätze zu halten. Dann aber dürfte Ex 12,1-20 auch in Dtn 16 vorausgesetzt sein.

Die Mehrheit der Exegeten ist weder Van Seters darin gefolgt, Dtn 16,1-8* als ältesten Text zu sehen, noch McConville darin, P die zeitliche Priorität vor D einzuräumen. Beide Ansätze zeigen aber auf, dass sich mit der Preisgabe der neueren Urkundenhypothese ganz neue Möglichkeiten ergaben, das "Puzzle" zusammen zu fügen. Während die redaktionskritische Fragestellung, die sich aus der Frage nach der Redaktion des Pentateuch ergibt, bis heute einen der wesentlichen Gesichtspunkte liefert, unter welchen die Passah- und Mazzottexte gelesen werden, wurde die Diskussion um die relative Chronologie der Passah-Texte kaum weitergeführt, was exemplarisch in der Bemerkung von M. Köckert (1989) zum Ausdruck kommt, dass unabhängig davon, ob Ex 12,21-27 J oder P zuzuordnen sei, "in jedem Falle das Deuteronomium der Priesterschrift mit der Verbindung von Exodus und Passa vorausgegangen" sei ⁷⁴.

Das Ende des Konsenses bezüglich der neueren Urkundenhypothese bedeutete nicht, dass diese keine Vertreter mehr gefunden hätte. Auf der Grundlage der neueren Urkundenhypothese kritisierten B.R. Goldstein und A. Cooper (1990) die drei in der Forschung oft vorausgesetzten Spätdatierungskriterien Historisierung, fixiertes Datum und Zentralisation: "On all three grounds, J/E's festivals were early, P's were late, and D's fell somewhere in between" ⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ M. KÖCKERT, "Leben in Gottes Gegenwart. Zum Verständnis des Gesetzes in der priesterschriftlichen Literatur", *"Gesetz" als Thema Biblischer Theologie* (Hrsg. I. Baldermann et al.) (JBTh 4; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989) 44.

⁷⁵ B.R. GOLDSTEIN – A. COOPER, "The Festivals of Israel and Judah and the Literary History of the Pentateuch", *JAOS* 100 (1990) 19.

Da diese drei Kriterien fraglich seien, suchten sie nach einem alternativen Erklärungsansatz. Diesen fanden sie in der oft vertretenen Annahme, dass E und D aus dem Nordreich, J und P aus dem Südreich stammen. Der nördliche Kalender entspreche dem, was aus Kanaan bekannt ist: *hōdeš* ist der Neumond, *šabbāt* der Vollmond und die Tage dauern von Abend bis Abend. Dieser Kalender liege Ex 23,10-19 zugrunde. Der südliche Kalender entspreche dagegen ägyptischem Stil, wo der Tag am Morgen beginnt. Nördliche Kalenderelemente ausserhalb von D werden einem JE-Redaktor zugeschrieben, der die Quellen zusammengeführt hat. Ohne auf die Details eingehen zu können, wird hier deutlich, dass die Unterschiede zwischen den verschiedenen Texten nicht primär auf unterschiedliche Entstehungszeiten, sondern auf unterschiedliche Entstehungsorte zurückgeführt werden.

In einem weiteren Beitrag führten Cooper und Goldstein (1992)⁷⁶ ihren Ansatz noch weiter: In der Exoduserzählung sahen sie den Gründungsmythos des Nordreiches, wobei Ex 15 und das Mazzotfest zur Exoduserzählung zusammengefügt wurden. Ein JE-Redaktor habe dann eine neue Synthese geschaffen und den nördlichen Exodusmythos dem Südreich vermittelt, was zum biblischen Text geführt habe. Cooper und Goldstein datierten den JE Redaktor ins 8. Jhd. So blieben sie der neueren Urkundenhypothese zwar in der Zuordnung der Quellen, nicht aber in deren historischen Anordnung treu.

VI. Die Diskussion in den 1990er Jahren

Eine wichtige Rolle in der neueren Diskussion spielt die Literarkritik an Ex 12,1-28⁷⁷. Insbesondere Ex 12,21-23 als ältester jahwistischer Text zum Passah war in der früheren Diskussion tragendes Element vieler Theorien. Mit Van Seters brach aber der Konsens der jahwistischen Zuordnung dieser Verse. Bezeichnend ist eine Ausgabe

⁷⁶ A. COOPER – B.R. GOLDSTEIN, “Exodus and *Maššôt* in History and Tradition”, *MAARAV* 8 (1992) 15-37.

⁷⁷ Die Diskussion um die Literarkritik von Ex 11-13 wurde freilich schon lange geführt, vgl. LAAF, *Pascha-Feier*, 3-38; SCHMITT, *Exodus*, 17-22; WAMBACQ, “Les origines”, 311-314; SCHREINER, “Exodus”, 75-82; VAN SETERS, “Place”, 172-176; K. GRÜN WALDT, *Exil und Identität*. Beschneidung, Passa und Sabbat in der Priesterschrift (BBB 85; Frankfurt 1992) 71-103.

der *ZAW* (1995), wo hintereinander P. Weimar⁷⁸ und S. Gesundheit (= S. Bar-On)⁷⁹ einen literarkritischen Beitrag zu Ex 12 publizierten, wobei Weimar diskussionslos davon ausging, dass Ex 12,21-23* jahwistisch sei, während Gesundheit neue Argumente für die These vortrug, dass Ex 12,21-27* zu P gehöre.

Weimar arbeitete für Ex 12,1-14 eine dreigliedrige Entstehungsgeschichte heraus, deren Grundschrift sich an Ex 12,21-23* orientiere. Anders Gesundheit: Als Hauptkriterium für die literarkritische Analyse von Ex 12,1-14 sah er den Wechsel zwischen 3.P. und 2.P. In 3.P. ist ihm zufolge die Grundschrift formuliert, in 2.P. eine kommentierende Ergänzungsschrift. Er zeigte, wie die Ergänzungsschrift jeweils sprachlich an die Grundschrift anknüpft und übertrug dies analog dazu auf das Verhältnis von Ex 12,22 zu 6b-7. Daraus leitete er die These ab, dass Ex 12,22-27a.28 "ursprünglich nichts anderes als die Fortsetzung der priesterschriftlichen sekundären Schicht der V. 2.4 – 9a.9 – 11 waren"⁸⁰.

Das Interesse an der Pentateuchredaktion war leitend in der kurzen Behandlung von Passah und Mazzot bei I. Knohl (1995)⁸¹. Aufgrund der literarischen Nähe zwischen Lev 23,5-8 und Num 28,16-25 rechnete er Lev 23,5-8 P zu, während er Ex 12,1-20 komplett H zuordnete. Im Pentateuchmodell Knohls ist H nicht ein eratischer Block, sondern eine redaktionelle Bearbeitung von P.

Auch die Diskussion um die Entstehungsgeschichte von Dtn 16,1-8 fand im Rahmen redaktionskritischer Fragestellungen neue Aufmerksamkeit⁸². Hat sich seit Kraus mehrheitlich eine frühe Historisierung und Verbindung von Passah und Mazzot durchgesetzt, brachte T. Veijola (1996)⁸³ Auerbachs These einer priester-

⁷⁸ P. WEIMAR, "Zum Problem der Entstehungsgeschichte von Ex 12,1-14", *ZAW* 107 (1995) 1-17.

⁷⁹ S. BAR-ON, "Zur literarkritischen Analyse von Ex 12,21-27", *ZAW* 107 (1995) 18-30.

⁸⁰ BAR-ON, "Analyse", 22.

⁸¹ I. KNOHL, *The Sanctuary of Silence. The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis, MN 1995) 19-23.

⁸² Zur älteren Diskussion vgl. AUERBACH, "Feste", 1-5; LAAF, *Pascha-Feier*, 69-86; HALBE, "Passa-Massot", 148-163.

⁸³ T. VEIJOLA, "The History of the Passover in the Light of Deuteronomy 16,1-8", *BZAR* 2 (1996) 53-75. In Aufnahme neuerer Diskussionsbeiträge hat Veijola an seinem Modell festgehalten: DERS., "Der Festkalender des

lichen Bearbeitung von Dtn 16,1-8 wieder zur Geltung (allerdings wohl unabhängig von diesem). Im von ihm angenommenen josiatisch zu datierenden Grundbestand (Dtn 16,1*.2.5abα.6a*) ist nur das Passah, freilich bereits historisiert, enthalten und zwar unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Kultzentralisation. Erst ein deuteronomistischer Redaktor habe das Mazzotfest aus Ex 23,15 ins Passah eingefügt (Dtn 16,3αα.4b*.6a*b.7). Während dieser Redaktor noch vor Ex 12,1-14 anzusetzen sei, gehöre ein zweiter Redaktor (Dtn 16,3αβ*.ba.4αβ*.8.9a.16αβ) schon zum “Judaismus” und habe in Dtn 14,3 בַּחֲפוֹן aus Ex 12,11 bereits zitieren können. Veijola lenkte damit den Blick auf etwas, was bis dahin wenig Aufmerksamkeit erhalten hatte, nämlich auf gewisse Elemente in der Passah-Mazzot-Gesetzgebung, die einzig in Ex 12 und Dtn 16 zu finden sind.

In Kenntnis des noch nicht erschienenen Beitrages von Veijola veröffentlichte in demselben Jahr ⁸⁴ J.C. Gertz (1996) ⁸⁵ einen Beitrag, in welchem er zu zeigen versuchte, dass in Dtn 16,1-8 *keine* priesterschriftlich beeinflusste Bearbeitung zu finden sei. Nach Gertz hat der Gesetzgeber einen vorliegenden Festkalender unter dem Aspekt der Kultzentralisation überarbeitet und dabei auch Passah und Mazzot verbunden. Mit Ausnahme von בַּחֲפוֹן lassen sich ihm zu-

Deuteronomiums (Dtn 16,1-17)”, *Festtraditionen in Israel und im Alten Orient* (Hrsg. E. BLUM – R. LUX) (VWGTh 28; Gütersloh 2006) 174-189.

⁸⁴ Ebenfalls in diesem Jahr sprach F. AHUIS, *Exodus 11,1-13,16 und die Bedeutung der Trägergruppen für das Verständnis des Passa* (FRLANT 168; Göttingen 1996) 9, in seiner Monographie über die hinter den verschiedenen Texten von Ex 11-13 stehenden Trägergruppen von einer “Grundlagenkrise in der Pentateuchforschung”, die sich auch “auf die Interpretation der Passa-Traditionen im Kontext von Ex 11,1-13,16” auswirke. Dieser Textkomplex erweise sich umgekehrt “gegenüber klassischen wie neuen Theorien der Überlieferungsgeschichte des Tetra-, Penta-, Hexa- oder gar Heptateuch” als sperrig. Insgesamt bewegte Ahuis sich in ausgetretenen Bahnen. Zum Ursprung des Passah schloss er sich der These von Rost mit Hirtenritus und Wüstendämon im Wesentlichen an. Für Ex 11-13 unterschied er drei literarische Grössen: J (Ex 11,4-8; 12,21-23ba.27b.39-33.37.38), P (Ex 12,1-2.3αβ-6a.9-11.14.28.40-41) und DtrT, einen deuteronomistischen Redaktor, der J und P zusammenfügt (Ex 11,1-3.9-19; 12,3αα.6b-8.12f.15-20.23bβ-27a.34-36.39.42-13,16). Trägergruppe von J seien die Ältesten, von P die Priester, von DtrT die Leviten.

⁸⁵ J.C. GERTZ, “Die Passa-Massot-Ordnung im deuteronomischen Festkalender”, *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen* (Hrsg. T. VEIJOLA) (SFEG 62; Helsinki – Göttingen 1996) 56-80.

folge alle Elemente, die an P erinnern können, als Anteil des dt Gesetzgebers an der Ausformulierung des Gesetzes erklären. בחפזון beziehe sich aber in Ex 12,11 auf das Passamahl, nicht auf die Mazzot und es sei “wenig wahrscheinlich, dass eine ursprünglich auf das Passa bezogene Äusserung im dt Gesetz als Begründung für das Massotessen eingearbeitet wurde, obwohl ein Bezug auf das Passa möglich und weniger spannungsreich gewesen wäre”⁸⁶.

Gegen Veijola und Gertz und überhaupt gegen den immer wieder unternommenen Versuch, Dtn 16,1-8 durch einen redaktionellen Wachstumsprozess zu erklären, der verschiedene Stufen in der Religionsgeschichte Israels reflektiert, hat sich B.M. Levinson (1997)⁸⁷ gewandt: “Despite its popularity, that hypothesis has no real supporting evidence except for the very text that the reconstruction of external history both derives from and attempts to explain”⁸⁸. Levinson behandelt Dtn 16,1-8 im Rahmen seiner Monographie, in welcher er sich mit Rechtsinnovation im Deuteronomium befasst. In seinem Unterfangen, das Bundesbuch zu ersetzen, ignoriere das Deuteronomium das Bundesbuch nicht einfach, sondern bediene sich einer Vorgehensweise, die Levinson als “lemmatic reformulation” bezeichnet. Diese Technik funktioniert so, dass das Deuteronomium an die wichtigsten Lemmas des Bundesbuches anknüpft und so den Anschein erweckt, in Übereinstimmung mit dem Bundesbuch zu stehen, während in Wirklichkeit die Texte aus dem Bundesbuch subversiv rezipiert werden. Die Rezeption von Ex 20,24b in Dtn 12 beschreibt Levinson beispielsweise “almost as if the older Exodus altar law itself lexically sanctioned the very innovation that overturns it”⁸⁹. Beim Versuch, Dtn 16,1-8 redaktionskritisch aufzuschlüsseln, werde die programmatische Absicht und die intentionale Komposition des Festkalenders des Deuteronomiums übersehen: “What is prior is neither Passover nor Unleavened Bread, in itself, but rather the innovation of centralization and the historical program of Deuteronomy’s authors [...] The complex structure of the text reflects intentionality, not prior cultic history”⁹⁰. Nach Levinson sind die literarkritischen Schwierig-

⁸⁶ GERTZ, “Passa-Massot-Ordnung”, 71.

⁸⁷ B.M. LEVINSON, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York 1997) 53-97.

⁸⁸ LEVINSON, *Deuteronomy*, 55.

⁸⁹ LEVINSON, *Deuteronomy*, 38.

⁹⁰ LEVINSON, *Deuteronomy*, 56.

keiten in Dtn 16,1-8 nicht mit redaktioneller Schichtung zu begründen, sondern damit, dass das Deuteronomium als subversive Neuschreibung des Bundesbuches ältere Quellen in sein Programm der Kultzentralisation integriert. Dabei greift Dtn 16,1-8 auf Ex 23,14-19 und Ex 13,3-10 zurück und kreiert einen neuen Festkalender, in welchem Aktivitäten, die zuvor an Lokalheiligtümern ausgeübt wurden, zentralisiert (Passah) oder säkularisiert (Mazzot) werden. Die Verbindung von Passah und Mazzot ist Teil des dtn Programms, wobei Elemente von Mazzot auf das Passah übertragen werden.

E. Otto (1999) ⁹¹ zufolge hat Levinson "zu Recht allen derartigen diachronen Lösungsversuchen eine Absage erteilt". Allerdings habe er sich mit Ex 23,14-19 und Ex 13,1-16* "die falschen Vergleichstexte ausgesucht" ⁹². Nach Otto wird in Dtn 16,1-17 primär Ex 34,18-26* rezipiert.

McConville (2000) ⁹³ sah in einer Antwort an Levinson in Dtn 16,1-8 zwar nicht das Resultat eines mehrstufigen Prozesses, der eine religionsgeschichtliche Entwicklung spiegelt. Doch nach McConville, der Ex 12-13 für älter als Dtn 16 hält, sind Passah und Mazzot schon vor Dtn 16 miteinander verbunden. Zudem wies er auf dezentralisierende Tendenzen in Dtn 16,4.7 hin, die in seinen Augen gegen Levinsons Argumente für eine josianische Datierung des Festkalenders sprechen. Levinson (2000) ⁹⁴ hat auf den Beitrag von McConville umgehend geantwortet und seine Position verteidigt.

VII. Neueste Diskussionsbeiträge

Neu gemischt sind die Karten bei K.W. Weyde (2004) ⁹⁵. Seine Untersuchung richtet sich v.a. auf den Festkalender in Lev 23. Lev 23,5-8 setzt ihm zufolge Ex 12, Num 28 und Dtn 16 voraus. Im

⁹¹ E. OTTO, *Das Deuteronomium. Politische Theologie und Rechtsreform in Juda und Assyrien* (BZAW 284; Berlin 1999) 324-340.

⁹² OTTO, *Deuteronomium*, 340-341, n. 571.

⁹³ J.G. McCONVILLE, "Deuteronomy's Unification of Passover and Maṣṣôt: A Response to Bernard M. Levinson", *JBL* 119 (2000) 47-58.

⁹⁴ B.M. LEVINSON, "The Hermeneutics of Tradition in Deuteronomy: A Reply to J.G. McConville", *JBL* 119 (2000) 269-286.

⁹⁵ K.W. WEYDE, *The Appointed Festivals of YHWH. The Festival Calendar in Leviticus 23 and the sukkôt Festival in Other Biblical Texts* (FAT II/4; Tübingen 2004) 19-68.

Rahmen seiner Untersuchung fragt er weitergehend aber auch nach dem Verhältnis der übrigen Passah- und Mazzotgesetze zueinander. Er nimmt für Dtn 16,1-8 eine zweistufige Entstehung an (5-8 ist sekundär) und geht davon aus, dass in Dtn 16,1-8 Ex 12-13 im Wesentlichen vorausgesetzt ist (mit Ausnahme von Ex 12,15-20, was er für einen späten Zusatz hält, der von Dtn 16,1-8 her kommt). Der Hauptpunkt seiner Argumentation besteht freilich darin, dass Lev 23,5-8 und Num 28,16-25 klar unterscheiden zwischen dem Passah und dem Mazzotfest: “Making this distinction between the festivals, these calendars differ from what we observed in the other festival calendars [...]”⁹⁶. Diese beiden Texte unterscheiden sich Weyde zufolge also von den übrigen Passah-Mazzottexten im Pentateuch. Auffällig ist hierbei besonders, dass er Ex 12-13 mit seinem priesterlichen Material nicht auf der Seite von Lev 23 und Num 28, sondern auf der Seite der übrigen Festkalender sieht. In Ex 12 sei zwar eine Unterscheidung zwischen Passah und Mazzot gemacht hinsichtlich der historischen Retrospektive, doch in der kultischen Feier werden sie als Teil derselben Befreiungstat Jahwes gefeiert.

So sehr sich sämtliche Konsense auch auseinanderdividiert haben: J.A. Wagenaar (2005)⁹⁷ versteht seine Monographie als Herausforderung des nach wie vor gültigen Geschichtsbildes von Wellhausen. Ansatzpunkt seiner Untersuchung sind die Datierungen der Feste, die ihm zufolge gegen die breite Forschung seit Wellhausen “may not so much presuppose a gradual process of denaturation or historicisation [sic] as reveal a fundamental change in the way the dates were calculated in the days of the Babylonian exile”⁹⁸. Seine Untersuchung führt ihn in Übereinstimmung insbesondere mit Van Seters zur Schlussfolgerung, dass im Zentralisationsakt von Dtn 16,1aß.2.5-6abα.7.9b-11.13-15 der älteste Festkalender zu finden sei. Bei den Festkalendern in Ex 23 und 34 handle es sich um eine jahwistische Revision desselben. Der priesterliche Kalender findet sich in Ez 45,18-20; Ex 12,1-13 und Lev 23, wobei Num 28-29 auf Lev 23 basiert. Ez 45,18-20 erhält in Wagenaars Entwurf eine zentrale Bedeutung für die Rekon-

⁹⁶ WEYDE, *Appointed Festivals*, 67.

⁹⁷ J.A. WAGENAAR, *Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Calendar* (BZAR 6; Wiesbaden 2005). Vgl. auch: DERS., “Post-Exilic Calendar Innovations. The First Month of the Year and the Date of Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread”, *ZAW* 115 (2003) 3-24.

⁹⁸ WAGENAAR, *Origin*, 6.

struktion des Festkalenders: “In marked contrast to the Wellhausenian scheme [...], the ‘centralisation act’ in Deut 16:1aß, 2, 5-6abα, 7, 9b-11, 13-15 can no longer be considered as the axis around which the evolution of the ancient Israelite festival calendar revolves. A new anchor point for the reconstruction of the origin and transformation of the ancient Israelites’ festival calendar may nevertheless be found in the list of festival sacrifices in Ezek 45:18-20, 21a, 22-25”⁹⁹.

An Positionen von Wagenaar knüpft teils C. Leonhard (2006)¹⁰⁰ an. Er ist vor allem am Verhältnis zwischen dem jüdischen Passah und dem christlichen Osterfest interessiert, wobei der Fokus bei deren Liturgie ist. Für die Frage nach Ursprung und Wesen des Passah von Interesse ist besonders das zweite Kapitel, das sich ausführlich mit Ex 12 und dem Ursprung des Passah befasst. Die Besonderheit von Ex 12 ist ja, dass dort das Passah nicht am Zentralheiligtum, sondern in den Häusern gefeiert wird. Leonhard stellt eine Ex 12 zugrunde liegende Tradition alten Ursprungs im nomadischen Israel infrage: “For if Exod 12 should have defined ‘the’ Pesah in the Babylonian Exile and in Second Temple times, it must be asked why these laws became totally obsolete with the destruction of the Temple”¹⁰¹. Gegen eine nomadische Herkunft spreche auch, dass in den biblischen Texten im Unterschied zu allen anderen Festen betont werde, dass das Passah nicht kontinuierlich gefeiert wurde in der Geschichte Israels, sondern dass es erst nach dem Exodus eingeführt worden sei. Die Antwort auf viele Fragen, die Ex 12 aufwirft, ist nach Leonhard zu finden, wenn man annimmt “that Exod 12 actually explains the Pesah at the (Second) Temple in Jerusalem”¹⁰². Die rituelle Struktur vom Passah in Ex 12, wo das Tier am 10. ausgewählt wird, bevor es am 14. geschlachtet wird, sei an der analogen Struktur von Sukkot orientiert, beide zusammen wiederum abhängig vom babylonischen Festkalender. Leonhard geht dann den einzelnen Elementen von Ex 12 entlang und versucht sie im Kontext des zweiten Tempels zu deuten. Er kommt zum Schluss, es handle sich in Ex 12 um eine Rückprojektion von Elementen des Tempelkultes in alte Zeiten: “Exod 12

⁹⁹ WAGENAAR, *Origin*, 161.

¹⁰⁰ C. LEONHARD, *The Jewish Pesach and the Origins of the Christian Easter*. Open Questions in Current Research (SJ 35; Berlin 2006).

¹⁰¹ LEONHARD, *Pesach*, 56.

¹⁰² LEONHARD, *Pesach*, 62.

is an allegorical interpretation of the liturgy at the Temple in Jerusalem. It is shaped as a set of fictitious rules for a primeval ritual. As that fictitious liturgy was never kept in reality, every observer or participant could easily associate it with the cult at the Temple”¹⁰³.

Steht bei Leonhard Ex 12 im Vordergrund, während er sich zu den übrigen alttestamentlichen Passah-Texten nur nebenbei äussert, so sind nach J.H. Choi (2010)¹⁰⁴ sämtliche Festgesetze des Pentateuch erst in der Literatur des zweiten Tempels rezipiert. Er vergleicht die Passah-Gesetze mit den übrigen Texten, in welchen das Passah erwähnt ist (Jos 5,10-12; 2.Kön 23,21-23; Ez 45,18-25; 2.Chr 30.35; Esr 6,19-22) und kommt zum Schluss: “To be clear, it is not simply the case that the non-pentateuchal texts significantly depart from the Pentateuch, but that they display no literary connection to it. The pentateuchal depictions of holidays did not present any form of constraint on the depiction of holidays by other authors”¹⁰⁵. Anders stellt sich der Befund insbesondere im Jubiläenbuch dar. Daraus schliesst er nicht nur, dass die pentateuchischen Festgesetze noch in exilischer Zeit keinerlei autoritativen Status hatten, sondern er stellt die bisherige Forschung grundsätzlich infrage: “While a number of scholars have offered proposals for a post-exilic date of composition of the Pentateuch, these are essentially modified versions of the Documentary Hypothesis that entail an adjustment of the date of one or two source documents. And while the tradition-critical approach pioneered by Hermann Gunkel refutes the core of the Documentary Hypothesis, it still adheres to the view that the Pentateuch is a compilation of material preserved and transmitted from antiquity. Neither model seems appropriate in light of the evidence presented here, which suggests a fundamental ignorance of the Pentateuch in the rest of the Bible”¹⁰⁶.

Zwei Beiträge hat V. Wagner (2009 und 2010) veröffentlicht¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰³ LEONHARD, *Pesach*, 69.

¹⁰⁴ J.H. CHOI, *Traditions at Odds*. The Reception of the Pentateuch in Biblical and Second Temple Period Literature (LHBOTS 518; New York – London 2010) 47-104.

¹⁰⁵ CHOI, *Traditions*, 104.

¹⁰⁶ CHOI, *Traditions*, 244.

¹⁰⁷ V. WAGNER, “Gab es eine Fassung von Ex 12 ohne Pesach?”, *BN NF* 143 (2009) 23-43; DERS., “Das Pesach ist ‘zwischen eingekommen’ (Dtn 16,1-8)”, *Bib* 91 (2010) 481-498.

Gemeinsam ist beiden, dass Wagner den sekundären Charakter des Passah gegenüber Mazzot zu beweisen unternimmt. In Ersterem geschieht dies, indem er zeigt, dass Ex 12,1-14 und 21-24 parallel formuliert sind. Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass nur diejenigen Elemente ursprünglich sind, die in beiden Texten vorhanden sind, kommt er zum Schluss, dass die Erwähnungen des Passah in Ex 12,11aß und 21by literargeschichtlich sekundär seien und somit der Exodus in der Erzählung ursprünglich ohne ein (Passah-)Opfer stattgefunden habe.

Im zweiten Beitrag wendet Wagner sich Dtn 16,1-8 zu. Er geht davon aus, "dass der deuteronomische Festkalender ursprünglich nur entweder vom Mazzotessen oder vom Pesachopfer gehandelt hat"¹⁰⁸. Seit Auerbach (auf den Wagner nicht explizit verweist) wurde ausgehend von der Beobachtung, dass Dtn 16,3-4 literarisch von Ex 23,18/34,25 abhängig sein dürfte, immer wieder auf den sekundären Charakter der entsprechenden Teilverse geschlossen. Wagner weist darauf hin, dass neben diesen literarischen Übereinstimmungen aber frappante Unterschiede zwischen Dtn 16,3-4 und Ex 23,18/34,25 bestehen. Anschliessend zeigt er, dass an diversen Stellen im Deuteronomium auf ein Verbot ein sich daraus ergebendes Gebot folgt. Dies gilt auch für Dtn 16,3aα und 3aß, was es verbiete, diese beiden Teile auseinanderzureissen. Wie Wagner sich trotz den Unterschieden zwischen Dtn 16,3-4 und Ex 23,18/34,25 die literarischen Übereinstimmungen erklärt, bleibt unbeantwortet. Jedenfalls sieht er im Mazzotessen den ursprünglichen Inhalt von Dtn 16,1-8, während das Passah eine kultgeschichtliche Neuerung sei. Von 2.Kön 23,21-23 her ist es "gegen Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. entstanden"¹⁰⁹.

Nach einigen vorab publizierten Artikeln¹¹⁰ hat S. Gesundheit (2012) jüngst eine Monographie zu den Festgesetzen vorgelegt¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁸ WAGNER, "Pesach", 484-485.

¹⁰⁹ WAGNER, "Pesach" 498.

¹¹⁰ S. GESUNDHEIT, "Zur literarkritischen Analyse von Exodus 12,21-27", *ZAW* 107 (1995) 18-30; DERS., "Der deuteronomistische Festkalender", *Das Deuteronomium* (Hrsg. G. BRAULIK) (ÖBS 23; Frankfurt 2003) 57-68; DERS., "Intertextualität und literarhistorische Analyse der Festkalender in Exodus und im Deuteronomium", *Festtraditionen in Israel und im Alten Orient* (Hrsg. E. BLUM – R. LUX) (VWGTh 28; Gütersloh 2006) 190-220.

¹¹¹ S. GESUNDHEIT, *Three Times a Year: Studies on Festival Legislation in the Pentateuch* (FAT 82; Tübingen 2012).

Anstatt von einem Pentateuchmodell auszugehen oder ein Neues zu präsentieren, möchte er ganz vom Text ausgehen ohne Voraussetzung eines bestimmten Systems. Aus einem synoptischen Vergleich zwischen Ex 23,14-19 und Ex 34,18-26 schliesst er, dass es sich zweimal um denselben Text handelt, wobei letzterer deuteronomistisch und priesterlich erweitert wurde. Für Ex 12 kommt er zu den Schlüssen, die er bereits unter seinem hebräischen Namen Bar-On (vgl. oben) veröffentlichte: Ex 12,21-28 ist priesterlich und hat ursprünglich direkt an Ex 12,11 angeschlossen. Dtn 16,1-8 liegt seiner Analyse zufolge ein Gesetz zugrunde, das nicht die Feier, sondern die Zentralisation des bereits existierenden Passah befiehlt (Dtn 16,2.5-7). Dieses wurde zuerst von Ex 23,18/34,25 herkommend ergänzt (3aα.4b), eine zweite Ergänzung kam von Ex 13,6-7 her (3aβ.4a) und zuletzt wurde noch 3ab eingefügt. Gesundheit geht demnach davon aus, dass das dtn Passahgesetz an den Stellen, die keine Parallelen ausserhalb des Dtn haben, ursprünglich ist. Die wohl wichtigste Beobachtung von Gesundheit zu Ex 13 ist, dass sowohl die Passage zum ungesäuerten Brot (1-10) wie diejenige zum Erstgeborenen (11-16) parallel zu Ex 12,24-27 formuliert sind. Er deutet dies dahingehend, dass Ex 13,11-16 der Versuch sei, das apotropäische, tempelferne Passa aus Ex 12 durch eine Dankesgabe der Erstgeburt zu ersetzen, was aber nicht befriedigend war, so dass es eine Rückkehr zu den Mazzot und zum Passah gab, die das apotropäische Element aus Ex 12 ausschliesst (Ex 13,3-10).

VIII. Versuch einer systematischen Zusammenfassung der gegenwärtigen Forschungslage

Beim Versuch, den gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand zu systematisieren, erscheint es mir hilfreich, drei verschiedene Ansätze zu unterscheiden, wobei diese natürlich nicht scharf voneinander zu trennen sind und die meisten Studien zwar hauptsächlich einem der Ansätze folgen, dabei aber die anderen in der Regel nicht völlig ausblenden.

Ein erster Ansatz fragt vorwiegend historisch nach Ursprung und Entwicklung von Passah und Mazzot. Die gegenwärtige Tendenz scheint hier von einer Skepsis nicht nur gegenüber der neueren Urkundenhypothese, sondern auch gegenüber überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Ansätzen geprägt zu sein. Während lange Zeit arabische Nomadenbräuche das wichtigste Vergleichsmaterial für Israels

Passah waren, hat der babylonische Festkalender diese Position eingenommen. Damit ist auch gesagt, dass die Tendenz dahin zu gehen scheint, vorexilische Traditionen eher zu marginalisieren und Israels Feste wesentlich aus der Zeit des babylonischen Exils heraus zu verstehen. Diesem ersten Ansatz würde ich, zumindest teilweise im Gefolge der Arbeit von Van Seters, aus der neueren Literatur z.B. Wagenaar und Leonhard zuordnen.

Ein zweiter Ansatz ist besonders an der Redaktion, bzw. den Redaktionen des Pentateuch interessiert und untersucht dementsprechend auch die Passah- und Mazzotgesetze redaktionskritisch. Leitende Fragen sind dabei etwa diejenige nach deuteronomistischer Redaktion im Tetrateuch, nach den Redaktionen des Deuteronomiums, nach dem Verhältnis von P und H oder nach priesterlicher Redaktion im Deuteronomium. Diesem Ansatz sind in verschiedenen Ausprägungen u.a. die Studien von Ahuis, Gertz, Knohl, Veijola und Wagner verpflichtet. Am stärksten werden in den letzten 20 Jahren Dtn 16 und Ex 12 mit dieser Fragestellung untersucht, aber auch für Ex 23 und 34 besteht in der redaktionskritischen Modellbildung kein Konsens.

Der dritte Ansatz fragt nach Intertextualität und versucht, losgelöst von historischen oder redaktionsgeschichtlichen Modellen, die Passah- und Mazzottexte synoptisch-literarisch zu vergleichen und daraus Erkenntnis für die Rezeption älterer Texte durch jüngere zu gewinnen. Er wurde zugespitzt von Gesundheit ausformuliert und von ihm am konsequentesten durchgeführt. Neben Gesundheit ist auch Choi zu nennen, der nicht so sehr die Gesetzestexte untereinander, sondern vielmehr die inner- und ausserpentateuchischen Texte zu Passah und Mazzot miteinander vergleicht. Und schliesslich geht auch Levinsons Ansatz stark in diese Richtung, wenn er auch – anders als Gesundheit – gewisse Abhängigkeitsrichtungen als gegeben voraussetzt.

Während der redaktionskritische Ansatz im Prinzip eine von den narrativen Pentateuchtexten (besonders der Genesis) her kommende Fragestellung in die Pentateuchgesetze hineinträgt ¹¹² und sie da zu

¹¹² Die meisten redaktionellen Pentateuchmodelle wurden an den Narrativtexten entwickelt, so z.B. neben VAN SETERS, *Abraham*; DERS., *The Life of Moses. The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus – Numbers* (Louisville, KY 1994), und RENDTORFF, *Problem*, auch E. BLUM, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985); DERS., *Studien zur Komposition des*

verifizieren sucht, steht hinter dem dritten Ansatz die Fragestellung innerbiblischer Exegese, die sich in den Pentateuchgesetzen auf die Frage nach der Rechtshermeneutik ersetzender oder ergänzender Rechtstraditionen zuspitzt ¹¹³.

So sehr ich alle drei Ansätze für berechtigt halte und so sehr im Studium von Passah und Mazzot auch alle drei Ansätze zusammenfliessen müssen, so bin ich doch der Auffassung, dass festerer Boden nur unter die Füße gewonnen werden kann, wenn das Verhältnis der Passah-Texte zuerst literarisch geklärt wird ¹¹⁴. Dass vorliegender Forschungsüberblick mit einer Studie abschliesst, die dezidiert in diese Richtung geht und wichtige Grundlagenarbeit für die literarische Verhältnisbestimmung der Passah- und Mazzottexte leistet, stimmt mich für den weiteren Verlauf der Forschungsdiskussion zuversichtlich.

Evangelische Theologische Fakultät
Leuven und Staatsunabhängige Theologische
Hochschule Basel
Strandbadstrasse 1
8620 Wetzikon – Schweiz

Benjamin KILCHÖR

SUMMARY

With the beginning of the historical-critical study of the Old Testament, the biblical picture of the origin and development of Passover and Mazzot was not taken for granted anymore. Since there are a lot of texts concerning this topic, however, the options to explain the history of Passover and Mazzot are legion. Starting with George and Wellhausen, this article attempts to outline the history of research on Passover and Mazzot up to now. Some thoughts on the current state of research complete the paper.

Pentateuch (BZAW 189; Berlin 1990); C. LEVIN, *Der Jahwist* (FRLANT 157; Göttingen 1993), und andere.

¹¹³ Die Diskussion wird weit breiter als nur in der Passah- und Mazzotgesetzgebung geführt. Als Klassiker darf die Studie von M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford 1988), gelten.

¹¹⁴ Dies begründe ich ausführlicher in B. KILCHÖR, "The Direction of Dependence between the Laws of the Pentateuch: The Priority of a Literary Approach", *ETL* 89 (2013) 1-14.

Is Q a “Jewish Christian” Document?

In a number of recent studies, the Q source has been seen as reflecting a Jewish Christian outlook, and emerging from an environment where Jewish boundary-marking practices were upheld. The recent study of William Arnal presents a strong case for describing Q as both a Jewish Christian text and the product of a Jewish Christian community, at least as reflected in the final form of the Q document¹. By using Arnal as a major interlocutor, but not the only dialogue partner, this discussion examines the claim that Q is best understood as a Jewish Christian document. Specifically, it seeks to address certain meta-level questions concerning how social location is determined, what textual indicators might constitute evidence for the textual location of a putative community behind a text, but then in relation to the reconstructed text of Q, to enquire whether sufficient evidence emerges from the Q document that allows for its classification as a Jewish Christian text.

I. The History of Understanding the Social Location of the Q Community

When the Q hypothesis was first formulated, its purpose was to account for the origin of the literary relationships that existed between the three synoptic gospels. As early as 1838 C.H. Weisse postulated that Matthew and Luke used a second common source, besides the gospel of Mark². Although Weisse called this source the *λόγια*, seeing it as related to Papias' statement about the Matthean

¹ Following the hypothesis of stratified composition, Arnal is more comfortable when describing what he sees as the earliest recoverable stage, Q¹, as reflecting a 'Jewish' rather than a 'Jewish Christian' community. W.E. ARNAL, 'The Q Document', *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered*. Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts (ed. M. JACKSON-MCCABE) (Minneapolis, MN 2007) 119-154.

² C.H. WEISSE, *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1838) esp. vol. 1, 34-38.

logia, the Q theory was developed primarily as an explanation of the interrelationships between the synoptic gospels. The theory gained widespread acceptance through the work of H.J. Holtzmann who adopted the siglum Λ to denote the source ³.

The appearance in 1924 of B.H. Streeter's landmark volume *The Four Gospels* had both an immediate and lasting impact on the study of the synoptic gospels in general, and upon theories about Q in particular. The discussion went beyond understanding Q simply as an entity necessary to solve the synoptic problem. Instead, Streeter sought to locate Q within the landscape of the early Jesus movement. Streeter considered it highly likely that many of the sayings of Jesus originally were preserved in Aramaic in Jerusalem ⁴. However, according to Streeter, the advent of other communities of believers in Jesus (both Greek and Aramaic speaking) resulted in the wider circulation of such traditions. In an earlier published work Streeter entertained the possibility that Q originated in Palestine with the apostle Matthew as its author ⁵. However, by the time of the appearance of *The Four Gospels* Streeter advocated Antioch as the "possible place for the origin of Q" ⁶. He maintained, nevertheless, that both positions were compatible. The "Q" of Antioch was the Greek source common to both Matthew and Luke, whereas the "Q" of Palestine was an Aramaic work written by the apostle Matthew, which when translated became at least the basis of the Greek Q of Antioch ⁷.

In this discussion the siglum Q will refer to the common Greek source that is used independently by the authors of Matthew and Luke. It is apparent that for Streeter this document was pro-Gentile, it originated and circulated among communities without adherence to law observance, and in fact its ideology sought to undermine the outlook

³ H.J. HOLTZMANN, *Die synoptischen Evangelien: Ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig 1863).

⁴ B.H. STREETER, *The Four Gospels: A Study in Origins* (London 1924) 230.

⁵ B.H. STREETER, 'The Literary Evolution of the Gospels', *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. W. SANDAY) (Oxford 1911) 209-227.

⁶ STREETER, *The Four Gospels*, 232.

⁷ Three decades after Streeter's proposal, the idea of the "double origin" of Q was still exerting influence on discussions of synoptic origins. See F.C. GRANT, *The Gospels. Their Origin and Their Growth* (London 1957).

of Jewish Christians. Obviously there are numerous points at which Streeter's reconstruction of the purpose of Q and the evolution of the early Jesus movement can be questioned. In part, his understanding of Q arises in parallel to his characterizing of the M source, which he viewed as stemming from Jewish Christian circles. Thus the M source was seen as being "Judaistic", originating in Jerusalem and composed around A.D. 60⁸. Significantly, according to Streeter, M does not represent a primitive Jewish Christian strand of tradition, but "a later Judaistic reaction against the Petro-Pauline liberalism in the matter of the Gentile mission and the observance of the Law"⁹. From this perspective Jewish Christianity was seen as being in direct tension with the type of pro-Gentile Christianity advocated by Q.

Manson advocated even more strongly the view that there had been an earlier Aramaic recension of Q which agreed with Papias' statements about the logia. In regard to the Greek form of Q his position was basically a restatement of Streeter's position¹⁰. Manson then continued by cataloguing pro-Gentile elements in Q. It is significant to note that since Manson's day scholars have largely given up attempts to defend or develop the theory of an earlier Aramaic form of Q. However, the implications of this are not always recognized, especially the tension created by the theory of an original Greek composition and the hypothesis that Q was compiled in Lower Galilee by an isolated Jewish community.

After Manson, while the reconstruction of Q and discussions about its theological profile continued to interest anglophone scholars, the situation was markedly different in German scholarship. Although the investigation of gospel sources and the formulation of the Q hypothesis had its origins with Weisse and Holtzmann, and remained prominent until the time of Harnack¹¹, there were important paradigm shifts in gospel studies in Germany that led to the virtual disappearance of scholarship on Q in that context for several decades.

⁸ For an up to date discussion on the M source see P. FOSTER, "The M Source: Its History and Demise in Biblical Scholarship", *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (eds. P. FOSTER – A. GREGORY – J. KLOPPENBORG – J. VERHEYDEN) (Leuven 2011) 591-616.

⁹ STREETER, *The Four Gospels*, 512.

¹⁰ T.W. MANSON, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London 1949) 20.

¹¹ A. VON HARNACK, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*. Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament 2; Leipzig 1907).

Kloppenborg proposes two important shifts in German scholarship. First, for Bultmann: "Q evidenced the varying moods, habits, and theological tendencies of the primitive community. Bultmann's model was not text critical at all". The second shift was the well documented emphasis on the Christ of faith rather than the Jesus of history. "Since the kerygma of the crucified and risen Jesus was conspicuously missing in Q, the tendency was to regard Q as paraenesis or catechetics rather than as the theological heart of Christianity"¹².

The advent of redaction criticism from around the 1950s marked a significant move away from the emphasis upon the preached message of the early Church, and marked a renewed interest in Q. Tödt's study on the Son of Man title was important for recognizing that Q was a document with a distinctive theological profile, not a miscellany of undifferentiated traditions¹³. However, there was little interest in the social location of Q. This was to change as a consequence of Robinson's landmark study on the genre of the sayings source¹⁴. He argued that Q was not catechetical, as Streeter had suggested, but that it followed a known literary form – a collection of sayings attributed to a particular sage or rabbi. This insight opened the way for viewing Q as being in much closer proximity to a "Jewish" milieu, rather than understanding it as the catechetical instruction of the early gentile church based in Antioch¹⁵.

The implications of Robinson's insights did not allow scholars to immediately cut Streeter's Gordian knot of a gentile-oriented Q document originating in Antioch. Instead this widely accepted proposal unravelled slowly as various studies detected more Jewish elements in the text. Typical of the post-Robinson phase of research was the treatment of Q proposed by Schulz¹⁶. Whereas Streeter had proposed that Q had a literary antecedent in the Aramaic Logia written in Palestine¹⁷, Schulz saw the earliest phase of Q originat-

¹² J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh 2000) 344.

¹³ H.E. TÖDT, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (London 1965).

¹⁴ J.M. ROBINSON, "Logoi Sofon: On the Gattung of Q", *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (eds. J.M. ROBINSON – H. KOESTER) (Philadelphia, PA 1971) 71-113.

¹⁵ Robinson noted generic connections with the forms of wisdom tradition enshrined in Proverbs or Ecclesiastes.

¹⁶ S. SCHULZ, *Q, die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich 1972).

¹⁷ STREETER, "The Literary Evolution of the Gospels", 209.

ing with a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian community based in Palestine. Further, he noted connections with prophetic forms of speech drawn from Jewish circles ¹⁸.

Alongside this, another strand of Q scholarship was emerging almost simultaneously, which saw the mission of followers of Jesus as being focused on Israel. Thus Hoffmann saw a relationship between the theological orientation of Q and the type of Israel-centric prophetism related to the call for renewal in the preaching of John the Baptist. The necessity of a double geographic origin for the origin of Q became a less popular theory, even though certain scholars maintained that there were discrete stages in the literary formation of the document. Consequently a growing consensus emerged that located Q somewhere in Palestine (but not usually Jerusalem) ¹⁹, or Galilee, or southern Syria ²⁰. However, Kloppenborg has presented the most comprehensive exposition of the case for a Galilean location of the Q community ²¹.

Kloppenborg argues that although there is a shift in the formal characteristics of the collection with the addition and redaction of the Q² layer this does not necessitate a change in audience ²². Thus the emphasis in describing "social location" falls more upon the ideological and religious beliefs and values of both author and audience than on the questions of geographical locale. It is noted that the genre and rhetoric of the two initial layers of Q are not reflective of the highest level of professional scribalism. Consequently, the "framers of Q are scribes, to be sure, but their interests and inclinations do not coincide with the scribes and literati of Jerusalem" ²³. Moreover, Kloppenborg disputes the significance that some have attributed to the notion of itinerancy that has at times been ascribed to Q ²⁴. Also direct links

¹⁸ SCHULZ, *Q, die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten*, 57, 177.

¹⁹ P. HOFFMANN, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (Münster 1972) 332, 333.

²⁰ C.M. TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity* (Edinburgh 1996) 102-103.

²¹ KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q*, esp. 171-175, 255-261.

²² J.S. KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*. Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections (Philadelphia, PA 1987).

²³ KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q*, 210.

²⁴ In particular see G. THEISSEN, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (trans. J. Bowden) (Philadelphia, PA 1978).

with urban centres are called into question. He concurs that urban imagery is present, but that it is used negatively. Consequently, Kloppenborg acknowledges the proximity of the Q community to urban settings, but the antipathy that Q expresses towards these centres is seen as being indicative of distance from such urban communities ²⁵. Drawing these considerations together, he suggests:

There is little direct reflection of the persons Q addresses beyond the likelihood that they represent no higher a social level than the scribes that framed Q. Perhaps the best that can be said is that the Q people included some of the petit bourgeois of Galilean towns and, possibly, marginalized persons from some of the cities ²⁶.

Thus Q is associated with the geographically small area of Lower Galilee, with community members being based in small rural towns and villages rather than larger urban centres such as Sepphoris. While seeing embedded in Q a critique of the over-centralization of religious authority in Jerusalem, Kloppenborg suggests that Q nowhere challenges traditional markers of Jewish identity, and that it is likely that the Q people, as other Galileans, took for granted the principal distinguishing marks of Israelite identity — circumcision, some form of Sabbath observance, and probably certain dietary observances. Thus, Kloppenborg sees the Q community as understanding itself as a Jewish movement, which shared many of the critiques of Jerusalem-based religion in common with the wider Galilean populace. Thus even to label this group as “Jewish Christian” may represent too great a distinction in comparison with mainstream Judaism.

This assessment is in part shared by both Tuckett and Arnal, although they articulate their arguments differently. Tuckett labels members of the community as “Q Christians”, although he describes such people as “Christian Jews” rather than “Jewish Christians”. He explains his choice of terminology as follows:

²⁵ Isolation is seen as a key hallmark of the social location of the Q group by Jacobson. Whether this translates to geographical isolation or is only social isolation is more difficult to determine. See the summary statements in A.D. JACOBSON, *The First Gospel. An Introduction to Q* (Sonoma, CA 1992) 262-263.

²⁶ KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q*, 211.

By “Christian Jews”, I mean Christian supporters who still maintained their place within Jewish and social society (if indeed one can distinguish between the two!); by Jewish Christians, I mean those who had, whether by choice or outside pressure, made the move of setting up a “community” (at least in some sense) separate from their Jewish contemporaries, even though maintaining the highest level of continuity with their Jewish roots ²⁷.

Arnal’s description of the Q community aligns even more closely with that of Kloppenborg. Hence, scribalism, not itinerancy, is viewed as the correct model for describing a Galilean village-based movement. The social project of Q involves the wholesale rejection of hierarchies, especially that of Jerusalem-focused religious power structures ²⁸. Arnal calls for a reconceptualization of the terms “Jewish Christianity” or “Christian Judaism”. He sees the Jewish features becoming heightened with successive redactions of Q. Hence, Arnal views Q as the product of a Jesus-based movement within Judaism. This understanding of Q has enjoyed increased popularity over the last couple of decades, but it does not represent a uniform consensus.

While Fleddermann’s position deviates from what is perhaps the prevailing view, it is helpful to appreciate the way the text of Q can be seen as reflecting a different social location. He states: “[t]he cultural matrix Q rose out of remains hotly disputed. Does Q reflect Cynicism, Judaism, Jewish Christianity, or Gentile Christianity”? Fleddermann rejects the first three categories, and instead views Q as being read in gentile Christian contexts. He notes that Q attacks Israel’s particularism, it promotes a universal approach to salvation, it supports a flexible approach to the Law, it singles out Gentiles as models of faith, views Israel as under judgment, and replaces temple and Israel as places of true worship with a theology of the kingdom of God. As a result, he concludes “[a]ll we can know about the author of Q we have to infer from the work. The work discloses a highly literate author, a native Greek-speaking Gentile Christian living somewhere in the Mediterranean world [...]” ²⁹.

²⁷ TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 435, n. 37.

²⁸ W.E. ARNAL, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*. Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q (Minneapolis, MN 2001) 202.

²⁹ H.T. FLEDDERMANN, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Biblical Tools and Studies 1; Leuven 2005) 161, 167.

Thus, in contemporary scholarship the dominant viewpoint is that the Q document and the group behind it are located firmly within the matrix of first-century Judaism, usually in Galilee. As such, the group and its text should be described as “Jewish Christian”, or “Christian Jewish”, or even simply Jewish. What these labels mean in reference to the group’s practices has been examined in varying degrees. There is also a minority opinion that the document represents Gentile Christianity, and actually serves to undermine key aspects of Jewish identity. Given this diversity of views and the lack of methodological clarity, it is worth re-examining the way in which the social location of the Q document might be determined.

II. Defining Terms and Determining Social Location

It must be acknowledged that the labels “Jewish Christian” or “Jewish Christianity” were never used as technical terms in antiquity, nor, as Carleton Paget states, do the ancient sources speak “straightforwardly of Jewish Christians or of a party or entity called Jewish Christianity”³⁰. Nonetheless, as Carleton Paget observes, there is a range of closely related terminology. While such terms may not function as precisely defined technical terminology, they are used descriptively with the assumption that it was understandable to those who encountered such references. Skarsaune observes expressions that encapsulate the sense of “Jewish believers in Jesus” are in fact “not without close analogies in the ancient sources”³¹. However, perhaps his strongest example is drawn from the *Martyrdom of Peter and Paul* where, depicting a discussion between two Christian groups, the parties are described as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι Χριστιανοί and [οἱ] ἔθνικοι [Χριστιανοί]³². Obviously what the author intended by these

³⁰ J.C. PAGET, “The Definition of the Terms *Jewish Christian* and *Jewish Christianity* in the History of Research”, *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (eds. O. SKARSAUNE – R. HVALVIK) (Peabody, MA 2007) 22-52, here 22.

³¹ Skarsaune cites eight relevant examples: John 8.31; Origen, *Cels.* 2.1 (3 examples); Origen, *Comm. Matt.*, in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.4; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.5.2, 4.22.8. O. SKARSAUNE, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity”, *Jewish Believers in Jesus*, 5-6.

³² *Martyrium Petri et Pauli* (Greek) / *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (Latin), 5 in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha Pars prior*. Acta Petri,

two categories may be debated, but such groupings were seen as offering a recognizable taxonomy for readers.

Modern attempts to define the term “Jewish Christianity” are both difficult and notoriously contested. Some have rejected the whole endeavour, seeing the utility of such an umbrella term as being “very questionable indeed”³³. Perhaps the second part of the label is easier, since it is typically taken as denoting some type of adherence to the belief that Jesus was (at least) the promised messianic figure, or a divinely authorised teacher. The adjective “Jewish” has proved extremely problematic. Divisions exist among scholars as to whether this terminology denotes praxis in relation to religion, beliefs, and lifestyle³⁴, or if it is an indication of ethnic origin and identification³⁵. These are not the only possibilities. In Daniélou’s influential work on the subject he suggested an even broader understanding: “a type of Christian thought expressing itself in forms borrowed from Judaism”³⁶. It would appear on Daniélou’s definition that virtually all forms of Christianity would be classed as Jewish Christianity, since the thought-world of Christianity is permeated with Old Testament and Jewish motifs³⁷. Perhaps in the ancient period, only Marcion’s reformulation of Christianity with its radical separation from Judaism and rejection of the God of the Hebrew Bible could be considered as non-Jewish Christianity. Despite the overall value of Daniélou’s work, his definition lacks the precision required to make it a useful tool. Therefore, one is forced to make a choice be-

Acta Pavli, Acta Petri et Pavli, Acta Pavli et Thecla, Acta Thaddaei (ed. R.A. LIPSIVS) (Leipzig 1891) 122-123.

³³ J.E. TAYLOR, “The Phenomenon of Early Jewish-Christianity: Reality or Scholarly Convention”, *VC* 44 (1990) 313-334, here, 327.

³⁴ This has perhaps been the more widespread approach. See G. QUISPÉL, “The Discussion of Judaic Christianity”, *VC* 22 (1968) 81-93; S.K. RIEGEL, “Jewish Christianity: Definitions and Terminology”, *NTS* 24 (1978) 410-415; S.C. MIMOUNI, “Pour une définition nouvelle du judéo-christianisme ancien”, *NTS* 38 (1991) 161-186.

³⁵ The most recent representative of this category is SKARSAUNE, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity”, 3-21.

³⁶ J. DANIÉLOU, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*. Vol. 1, *The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicea* (trans. J.A. Baker) (London 1964) 9.

³⁷ A similar observation is made by M. JACKSON-MCCABE, “What’s in a Name: The Problem of “Jewish Christianity””, *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered*. Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts (ed. M. JACKSON-MCCABE) (Minneapolis, MN 2007) 24-25.

tween defining the Jewish aspect of Jewish Christianity either in terms of praxis or ethnic origin. Despite the more frequent adoption of the former, the latter alternative may better represent the understanding of groupings in late antiquity. Advocating this position, Skarsaune states:

In so doing, we are in agreement with the ancient sources. Those sources never speak about “Jewish Christians” in an ideological sense. They do, however, divide Christians into two categories by an ethnic criterion. There are Christians (or believers in Jesus) from the Jews and from the Gentiles ³⁸.

Such a categorization based on ethnic considerations rather than on practices is supported in antiquity beyond the confines of Jewish and Christian religious communities. In a well-known story Suetonius relates how Domitian employed invasive techniques to establish liability for paying the *fiscus Judaicus*. He recounts:

Domitian’s agents collected the tax on Jews with a peculiar lack of mercy; and took proceedings not only against those who kept their Jewish origins a secret in order to avoid the tax, but against those who lived as Jews without professing Judaism. As a boy, I once remember attending a crowded Court where an imperial agent had a ninety year old man inspected to establish whether or not he had been circumcised ³⁹.

Roman authorities do not appear to have been concerned as to whether this nonagenarian was a practicing Jew; in fact for taxation purposes even non-professing Jews appear to have been classed as Jewish ⁴⁰. If a male bore the physical mark of ethnic Jewish origin, then during the reign of Domitian he appears to have been considered Jewish regardless of adherence or praxis.

³⁸ SKARSAUNE, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity”, 4.

³⁹ Suetonius, *Dom.* 12.2.

⁴⁰ See further P. FOSTER, “Vespasian, Nerva, Jesus and the *Fiscus Judaicus*”, *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s Children*. Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity (eds. D.B. CAPES – A.D. DECONICK – H.K. BOND – T.A. MILLER) (Waco, TX 2007) 303-320, 454-458.

Notwithstanding these observations, patristic sources refer to groups of adherents to Jesus who maintained a Torah observant lifestyle. Skarsaune helpfully proposes that the terminology “Jewish believer in Jesus” be used to represent the wider phenomenon of any person who was ethnically Jewish and who expressed faith in Jesus, regardless of whether or not such a person maintained any form of Torah observance⁴¹. Therefore, the term Jewish Christian can be maintained as a narrower categorization of the type of “Jewish believer in Jesus” who maintained certain aspects of Jewish life. In effect, it is possible to adopt Mimouni’s definition, which describes a law-observant ethnic Jew who expresses some kind of faith in Jesus. He therefore defines “Jewish Christianity” in the following manner:

Ancient Jewish Christianity is a term designating those Jews who recognize Jesus as messiah, who recognized or did not recognize the divinity of Christ, but all of whom continued to observe Torah⁴².

This will function, in a slightly modified form, as the working definition that is adopted in this discussion when addressing the question of whether Q originated with such a group of believers. However, there is one major complicating factor. Q is well known for its non-use of Χριστός language. Hence, it is not possible to assert whether or not the Q compilers regarded Jesus as fulfilling a messianic role. What is certain is that Jesus and his teaching are regarded as authoritative in some sense for the Q document.

The range of competing and at times diametrically opposing views about the social location of the Q document raises major methodological questions about the task of determining the social profile of this source. There would appear to be at least three major questions that should be considered when attempting to determine the social profile of the author and initial reading community of a text:

⁴¹ In order to help clarify his definition, Skarsaune provides a helpful discussion of what it means to *believe* in Jesus. Here his first point shows that he wishes to maintain a fairly open definition that would include a wide range of expressions of faith: “On the level of doctrine we want to include any type of Christology that accords a unique role to Jesus as Messiah of the end time, final Prophet, or any other role that makes him decisive as a saving figure.” SKARSAUNE, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity”, 13.

⁴² S.C. MIMOUNI, *Le judéo-christianisme ancien*. Essais historiques (Paris 1998) 39-72.

1. Is there sufficient evidence available for such a reconstruction?
2. If so, what is the nature of the evidence?
3. What level of confidence can be attributed to proposals concerning the social profile?

In relation to the first question the limitations of the evidence should be acknowledged. It may be possible to make some generalized comment about social location, since few texts are totally free of clues about their intended readership. Perhaps the most extreme example might be a fragmentary text, of unknown provenance, that survives in translation rather than in its original language. In this hypothetical case there may be evidence that the language of the text is a translation (such as the presence of Semitisms), but probably beyond that little can be established. Fortunately most examples are less extreme. In the case of Q, at a minimum one could state that the document was composed during the first century, that its original language was Greek and so its likely place of composition was the Eastern Mediterranean, and that it circulated widely enough to be appropriated by two later authors.

Beyond such generalized observations, the task of refining the description of a social profile must draw upon further internal and external evidence. Factors such as the following may assist the task of determining the social background for a given text.

1. Some documents name addressees or author, give details of place or date of composition, and present explicitly the reasons for writing. Such evidence is of the highest significance in reconstructing the social profile of a document.
2. Forms of expression and types of language can offer further clues, but the tendency of later scribes to modernize archaic forms needs to be recognized as a counter force.
3. Reference to external events may provide evidence of time of composition as well as geographical origin, especially if the event was localized.
4. Stated or implied values, belief systems, or religious allegiances may supply evidence of the social values that are shared or debated by author and audience ⁴³.

⁴³ J.H. Elliott provides a list of nine questions that can be used to interrogate a text in relation to its social locations. See J.H. ELLIOTT, *What is Social Scientific Criticism?* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship; Minneapolis, MN 1993).

In terms of the degree of certainty that can be attributed to proposals concerning social location, consideration needs to be given to the specificity of the situation suggested by the combination of factors listed above. If all a document reveals is that the author draws upon a widespread belief system, then while this is undoubtedly interesting it does not provide a highly differentiated social profile although it may be an accurate description. On the other hand, one may reconstruct a much more specific description of social location, but if the evidence is ambiguous or open to a variety of interpretations the reliability of the profile is significantly lessened.

As has been demonstrated, there are various descriptions of the social profile of the Q community. In terms of a theoretical Jewish ↔ Gentile Christian axis, significant points on this axis may include:

Jewish — Christian Jewish — Jewish Christian — Gentile Christian

Here the left-hand end of the axis denotes greater identification with and inclusion in Jewish society, whereas the right-hand end of the spectrum represents distance from Jewish society and its distinctive religious practices.

Yet even within this constructed axis the term “Christian Jewish” is problematic, because the overlap between this term and what scholars such as Arnal understand by the label “Jewish” as a descriptor of the Q people. Namely the term “Jewish” on this axis would denote Torah observant Jews who have not been excluded from synagogue worship, even while confessing some form of belief in Jesus at least as a messianic figure⁴⁴. Unless “Jewish” means non-acceptance of any special status attributed to Jesus (in which case it should not be included on a continuum of possible profiles of the Q community), then it is virtually synonymous with the label “Christian Jewish”. However, comparing “Christian Jewish” with “Jewish Christian” also creates confusion. Skarsaune uses the term “Jewish Christian” to designate “ethnic Jews who, as believers in Jesus, still practiced a Jewish way of life.” In contradistinction to this category he notes that “our term “Jewish believer in Jesus” also includes those Jewish believers who did not keep a Jewish lifestyle. The latter are sometimes called “Christian Jews,” as distinct

⁴⁴ Here again this reflects the definition of MIMOUNI, *Le judéo-christianisme ancien*, 39-72.

from the Jewish Christians”⁴⁵. Therefore, for Skarsaune “Christian Jewish” represents ethnic Jews who are no longer Torah observant as a consequence of their faith in Jesus. Thus for him “Christian Jewish” would be placed to the right of “Jewish Christian” on the constructed axis. Furthermore, the term “Christian Jews” means precisely the opposite according to Tuckett’s more typical definition⁴⁶. From these differing understandings of the term “Christian Jewish” it is apparent that not only is there is no commonly agreed definition, but the various definitions that have been suggested are radically opposed⁴⁷.

Because of this confusion it is perhaps best to drop labels such as “Jewish Christian” or “Christian Jews” entirely, and to offer more descriptive definitions of the categories on the continuum. Yet the abiding problem is that groups or individuals rarely fall into hermetically isolated conceptual categories. Instead, real communities and individuals often hold together what may be seen as theoretically incompatible positions, and groups often encompass individuals with a range of beliefs. This may mean that only a few broad categories should be defined, but variation from such theoretical descriptions is to be expected. For this reason, a three point axis is proposed as an aid to classification, but there needs to be a recognition that no two groups or individuals are likely to share exactly the same belief system.

Jewish — Jewish Christian — Gentile Christian

Here Jewish believers are seen to be those who were still fully integrated into Jewish religious and social institutions although there may be tensions with fellow Jews who do not share the conviction that Jesus is the Messiah, or a prophetic figure, or a divinely commissioned teacher. Such adherents to Jesus probably maintained a form of Torah observance that was indistinguishable from members of wider Judaism. Historically, such a position may have only been

⁴⁵ SKARSAUNE, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity”, 9.

⁴⁶ TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 435, n. 37.

⁴⁷ This point is made with great clarity by Edwin Broadhead. He states that “[i]t is also invalid to define Jewish Christianity by what it is not — neither Jewish nor Christian. Similarly, a definition should not be shaped by perceptions of orthodoxy or heresy, either from the Christian or Jewish side”. E.K. BROADHEAD, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus* (Tübingen 2010) 28-58, here 58.

tenable in the first decades of the Jesus movement ⁴⁸. Jewish Christian is used to denote those individuals who, while ethnically Jewish, had either by choice or necessity been driven to set up their own communities outside the confines of traditional Jewish society and institutions such as the synagogue. It is feasible that they maintained a high level of Torah observance and remained wary about contact with Gentiles. Gentile Christianity is seen as essentially a law-free form of Christianity, which, while claiming continuity with historic Israel in the form of prophetic fulfilment of scripture, did not subscribe to the boundary-marking practices of Judaism. Such communities might have included both ethnic Jews and Gentiles, and consequently they could openly recruit new members from both groups. However, such groups are understood as not typically practicing circumcision, Sabbath observance, Jewish festivals or the maintenance of dietary laws. Obviously between these two theoretical options in practice numerous variations are possible.

III. The Social Location of Q

In order to determine the social location of the author and original readers of Q it is helpful to consider the attitudes the document might reveal towards group practices and ideologies, religious commitments and institutional adherence. Since the reconstructed Q document provides few if any self-referential comments about its social location, geographical provenance, or its historical circumstances, one must infer evidence for social location from the values and perspectives espoused in the text. In what follows, four potential indicators are considered that may cast light on the relationship between the document and the Judaism of its day. In turn these indicators are descriptions of synagogues in Q, statements concerning Torah, attitudes towards Gentiles, and the description of Israel as faithless or unbelieving.

⁴⁸ The exact point at which this type of adherence to Jesus ceased being tenable is hard to determine. Probably by the time of the pronouncement of the *birkat ha-minim* such an option was ruled out, but depending on the date assigned to Q, this may have been a possible option for that community. Another possible end-date for this form of commitment to Jesus may have been the destruction of Jerusalem, with triumphalist claims being articulated by supporters of Jesus. Obviously the change was a process rather than an event occurring at a fixed point.

1. *Synagogues in Q*

In attempting to locate Q on this spectrum, the initial question is whether there is evidence either for participation or separation from the synagogue. Passages such as Q 12.11 at the very least demonstrate that synagogues are viewed as places of opposition and cross-examination, ὅταν δὲ εἰσφέρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί εἴπητε (Q 12.11). Within the Q context of 12.8-12, after the opening theoretical discussion of confessing and denying (vv. 8-10) a concrete example is provided which relates to interrogation within the synagogue context. Admittedly the Matthean form of this saying with its redactional description of "their synagogues" (Matt 10.17)⁴⁹, heightens the implied degree of separation, but this is already clearly present in this Q passage. Since the reconstruction of Q 12.11 is not entirely certain, it is best not to place too great a weight on this one verse. However, if it is original it evidences the degree of opposition and separation that existed between the Q community and the synagogue.

The only other occurrence of the term συναγωγή in Q occurs in the sequence of the woes against the Pharisees (Q 11.43 = Matt 23.6), and like the previous example this tradition is also a case of a Mk-Q overlap (cf. Mk 12.39). Here the attitude to synagogues is more neutral. While they are seen as places where Pharisees practice their hypocrisy, it is not the synagogue location itself that is criticised or viewed as a place of danger for the community. Thus the ostentatious behaviour attributed to Pharisaic opponents stands in contrast with the form of spirituality promoted in Q that sees the poor as recipients of the Kingdom (cf. 6.20b). As Fleddermann observes, "The adversaries do not show the humility that constitutes an essential precondition for faith"⁵⁰. However, within this critique of Pharisaic behaviour synagogues are mentioned as the location of such false displays, yet are not themselves rejected. Consequently the attitude of Q towards synagogues is somewhat ambiguous. At best they are places where,

⁴⁹ It appears that if the word συναγωγή was originally part of Q 12.11, then Matthew has not replicated this element from Q, since it already occurred in the scene-setting introduction which is drawn from the triple tradition passage (Matt 10.17//Mk 13.9//Lk 21.12). Thus Matthew may have conflated traditions that overlap in Mk and Q.

⁵⁰ FLEDDERMANN, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 559.

according to Q, showy displays of religiosity are made by Pharisees before Jewish co-religionists. At worst, if the reference to synagogues is part of Q 12.11, they are places to which Q believers are brought unwillingly in order to be examined by adversaries.

2. *The Law*

There are two references to νόμος in Q, both of which occur in Q 16.16-17, a passage that is notoriously difficult to interpret. These two verses appear to combine sayings about Torah that stand in considerable tension. On the one hand Q 16.16 appears to present the law as part of a bygone era which was brought to a close with the preaching of John. By contrast Q 16.17 advocates an ongoing role for the law, although the manner of the continuance of the law for Q believers is not explicitly articulated. The fact that Matthew presents these two traditions as being separate (Lk 16,16 = Matt 11,12 and Lk 16,17 = Matt 5,18) raises the issue of whether Luke intentionally juxtaposed these originally competing perspectives, or if they came to the Third Evangelist as a unit (perhaps in combination with Q 16.18) and it was Matthew who recognized the tension and separated these two verses ⁵¹.

Notwithstanding the history of transmission of these two references to the law, the fact that Q could preserve such competing perspectives, whether in close connection or at some remove, makes it extremely difficult to summarize the attitude of Q and those that read it towards the Torah. If, as is perhaps the more commonly accepted view, Q 16.16-18 formed a unified sequence of traditions in Q ⁵², then this could possibly present a view of the law with a series of correctives. Q 16.16a puts forward the proposition that the law and the prophets only held sway until the time of John who is the final representative of the old order ⁵³. The identity of those who visit violence

⁵¹ The case for the original unity of these sayings in Q is supported by a number of scholars. For further discussion see P. FOSTER, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (WUNT 2.177; Tübingen 2005) 167-168; FLEDDERMANN, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 781-792.

⁵² TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 407; KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*, 79.

⁵³ Heil's assertion that Q places John in the era of the kingdom is difficult to sustain. C. HEIL, *Lukas und Q. Studien zur lukanischen Redaktion des Spruchevangeliums Q* (BZNW 111; Berlin – New York 2003) 125-126.

on the Kingdom is not clear. For those who wish to assert that Q is Jewish Christian, the protagonists could be presented as Paulinists or as people with a related perspective, advocating a law-free gospel. Alternatively, in order to support an interpretation of Q as limiting the validity of Torah, the doers of violence could be cast as Pharisaic or synagogue based opponents. Either option is circular in its reasoning since it interprets the undisclosed group in such a way as to support the hypothesis that is to be established concerning the attitude of Q to the law. The final saying on divorce (Q 16.18) may be presented as an example of how Torah functions for the readers of Q. Here Jesus' ruling on divorce overrides a permission to divorce that is provided in the Mosaic law⁵⁴. Therefore, discussing this specific case, Fleddermann observes that "the demands of the kingdom radicalize and transcend the Law by tightening its demands even further"⁵⁵.

An alternative possibility is not that an initial proposition (Q 16.16) has been subjected to a series of two correctives, but that the central assertion of Q 16.17 concerning the ongoing validity of the law, perhaps held by more conservative members of the Q community⁵⁶, has been framed by two traditions which reveal a more progressive attitude in favor of replacing the law. Hence, even more so than was the case with the attitude towards synagogues, Q reveals an ambiguous and complex perspective on the role of the law. It would appear that the compiler of these traditions was walking a tightrope, both preserving traditions that affirmed the law, which may have been important to long-term group members, and simultaneously modifying those traditions and juxtaposing them with more progressive ideas. Perhaps this reveals why the author was happy to let the tension between Q 16.16 and 16.17 stand in the document: because it reflected the social tensions in the group. Consequently, no clear picture emerges of the social location of Q, or its intended audience from the two fleeting references to the law.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of this tradition as it occurs in its Matthean form see FOSTER, *Community, Law and Mission*, 106-113.

⁵⁵ FLEDDERMANN, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 791.

⁵⁶ Nolland has noted that the sentiment expressed in Lk 16.17 has often been "attributed to later rigorist Jewish Christians", and not to the historical Jesus. While Nolland's description is correct, it is not the purpose of the present discussion to determine the vexed question of the attitude of the historical Jesus. J.A. NOLLAND, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, (WBC 35B; Dallas, TX 1993) 816.

3. *The Gentiles in Q*

In the Lukan version of the Q sermon (Q 6.20-38, 41-49) Luke presents a series of three rhetorical questions (Lk 6,32-34) which contrast the types of behaviour that are to be exhibited by adherents to this teaching over against the practices seen as characterizing “sinners”, οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, in each of the three questions. By contrast, Matthew may have retained more closely both the structure and terminology of the Q form of this tradition with his less stylized twofold comparison between the differentiated groups of tax-collectors, τελῶναι, and Gentiles, ἔθνικοί (Matt 5,46-48)⁵⁷. Therefore, given the likelihood that the original wording of Q 6.34 contained the phrase, οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἔθνικοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν, as a negative example of lending practices⁵⁸, it must be determined what this says about the attitude of Q towards Gentiles. This characterization is obviously not a positive representation of Gentile practices, but it functions more as a proverbial caricature than a clearly articulated theological statement about the attitude towards Gentiles⁵⁹. It would, however, be somewhat strange in a saying that castigates both restricted lending and greeting practices if the negative proverbial example of Gentile practice in these areas were seen to legitimate a reciprocal rejection of Gentiles and tax-collectors. In fact precisely the opposite is the case. The negative practices of these groups are to be countered by an inclusive community that both lends and greets all people without restriction.

This abstract reference to Gentiles gives way to a more concrete example of attitudes towards Gentiles in the story of the centurion’s servant (Q 7.1, 3, 6-9). The commendation of the centurion that is the climax of the story contrasts the faith of this Gentile with the lack of

⁵⁷ Fleddermann likewise sees Luke as involved in the heavier redaction of the Q tradition at this point. He states that “Luke blurred the distinction between the two examples by using “sinners” in both” and that he “expanded the section ... by adding a third example”. FLEDDERMANN, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 291.

⁵⁸ Marshall adopts a similar view and argues that Luke’s alteration of ‘Gentiles’ to ‘sinners’, ‘is again a change for the benefit of Gentile readers.’ I.H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGNT; Grand Rapids, MI 1978) 263.

⁵⁹ As Nolland observes, “‘Gentiles’ is used in a typically Jewish way, calling up Jewish negative stereotypical images”. J. NOLLAND, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI 2005) 271.

a similar response “in Israel” (Q 7.9). Although the centurion is not explicitly described as a Gentile, the contrast with “Israel” implicitly but clearly evokes this understanding, and attempts to avoid casting the centurion as a Gentile simply miss the key intention of the story ⁶⁰. The antipathy of Q towards a form of belief that is based on the plaintive confession of Jesus as κύριος without corresponding action is well known (Q 6.46) ⁶¹. Whether the centurion actually addressed Jesus as “Lord” in the Q version of this tradition is a complex and hotly debated question ⁶². While this is perhaps best explained as a Matthean addition, the decision is perhaps irrelevant in relation to the more central question of the overall meaning of this pericope. The faith of the centurion is what leads to Jesus granting his request. In relation to the Matthean form of this story, Davies and Allison summarize its core message in the following manner: “Faith conquers the separation between Jew and Gentile; it cannot but gain Jesus’ kindly help” ⁶³. There is no reason to understand the central message of this story as being any different in Q than it is in Matthew.

The attitude toward Gentiles in Q does not receive systematic treatment. The two brief references represent different trajectories. In Q 6.34, Gentiles are mentioned stereotypically (as are tax-collectors) as those who do not practice the type of group ethic that is presented as a key feature of Jesus’ teaching. This negative portrayal of Gentile behaviour is not employed to exclude Gentiles, or to place them beyond the reach of the teaching of Q, but to illustrate the difference between the love-ethic that is being promoted and the usual ethical practices that were understood to prevail in Gentile society. By contrast, the concrete example of the centurion implicitly contrasts the faith of this individual with the majority response from Is-

⁶⁰ The possibility that the centurion is not a Gentile is supported by D.R. CATCHPOLE, “The Centurion’s Faith”, *The Four Gospels 1992*. Festschrift Frans Neirynck (eds. F. VAN SEDBROECK – C.M. TUCKETT – G. VAN BELLE – J. VERHEYDEN) (BETL 100; Leuven 1992) III, 539-540.

⁶¹ P. FOSTER, “The Pastoral Purpose of Q’s Two-Stage Son of Man Christology”, *Bib* 89 (2008) 81-91, esp. 82.

⁶² S.R. JOHNSON (ed.), *Documenta Q. Q 7:1-10, The Centurion’s Faith in Jesus’ Word* (Leuven – Paris – Sterling, VA 2002) 163-166.

⁶³ W.D. DAVIES – D.C. ALLISON, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh 1991) II, 25.

rael. Indeed, the fact that a Gentile soldier is commended and contrasted with corporate Israel illustrates that for Q, believers in Jesus are known by their faith and not by their ethnic origin.

4. *Unbelieving Israel*

The story of the centurion's servant has already raised the categorization of Israel as unbelieving when contrasted with the faith exhibited by the centurion. The portrayal of unbelieving Israel is also prominent in Q 10.12-15; 11.30-32; 13.29, 28. In Q 10.13 the woes against Chorazin and Bethsaida do not necessarily show a positive attitude toward the Gentile cities of Tyre and Sidon; instead these are used hyperbolically to illustrate the degree of unbelief that is being exhibited by Jewish cities in the face of the wonders that are being performed by Jesus. Similarly, with the discussion concerning the sign of Jonah (Q 11.30-32), historic Gentiles, the Ninevites and the Queen of the South, are presented as being more responsive than contemporary Jewish hearers of Jesus' message. Perhaps most positively, the in-gathering of the multitudes from the east and the west (Q 13.29) speaks of inclusion of the Gentiles at the eschatological banquet, whereas the plural "you" to whom the warning is addressed are told that they "will be cast out into the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Q 13.28).

Such a critique of "unbelieving Israel", however, fails to reveal the social location of the Q community. It is possible to envisage competing scenarios whereby the original audience of Q could either be seeking to reform and convince non-believing Jewish contemporaries from within Judaism, or more critically castigating such opponents after having been excluded or having departed from synagogue society.

This lack of transparency concerning the social situation is a product of a number of factors. First, Q is seeking to transmit traditions about Jesus rather than to overtly recount the contemporary socio-religious situation in which the document was written. Secondly, even with the most strident of these three sayings (Q 13.29, 28) the precise identity of the adversaries is veiled by the use of the ambiguous description of them as "the sons of the kingdom". Obviously the contrast with those coming from "the east and the west" naturally evokes an implied comparison between Gentiles who will share the eschatological banquet and those who consider themselves to be

"sons of the kingdom", but nonetheless will be excluded. Fitzmyer is correct in his observations about this tradition: "the relation of Gentiles and Jews in the kingdom may reflect much more of the early community's preoccupation with it than Jesus' own"⁶⁴. Nonetheless, the precise nature of those concerns and the contemporary socio-religious identity of the group viewing its own situation as paralleled by events in the ministry and controversies of the historical Jesus cannot be reconstructed with any degree of certainty.

As this brief survey shows, many of the concepts contained in Q, such as "synagogue", "law", "Gentiles" and "unbelieving Israel", often used in determining the social location of the group, have ultimately proved to be ambiguous. In fact, they can be fitted into either a theory of a law-observant Jewish Christian group, or as supporting the view that Q was compiled originally for an inclusive group containing both ethnic Jews as well as Gentile believers.

IV. The Stratification of Q as a Clue to Social Location

Kloppenborg's ground-breaking work on the literary formation of Q led to the proposal that the document was compiled through a process of three recensions or layers. According to his theory, the base layer Q¹ represented a collection of sapiential traditions. Next a layer of traditions, Q², dealing with the prophetic announcement of judgment was added. This made up about one-third of the extent of Q⁶⁵. The final layer, Q³, is understood by Kloppenborg not as a major redactional re-shaping, but as "a matter of minor glossing"⁶⁶. This layer is proposed to comprise of only Q 4.1-13; 11.42c; and 16.17. However, this final editorial gloss has been taken in one recent treatment of the social location of Q as an important indication of the increasingly Jewish religious allegiance of the group.

Picking up on comments made originally by Kloppenborg in relation to Q³, Arnal suggests that the "final redaction of Q does not

⁶⁴ J.A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; New York 1985) 1023.

⁶⁵ The material in this layer included Q 3.7-9, 16-17; 7.1-10, 18-35; 11.14-26, 28-33, 39-52; 12.39-59; and 17.23-35. KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*, 166.

⁶⁶ KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q*, 153.

alter the document very much, but does illustrate an increasingly nomistic orientation among Q's tradents"⁶⁷. Thus, for Arnal the people behind Q were attracted to the wisdom teaching of Jesus, but as a result of rejection by fellow Jews when they tried to share this teaching, they became more inward looking and critical of non-believing co-religionists. The result was seen in the appending of the judgment sayings, many articulated against unbelieving Israel in the Q² layer. However, to clarify or correct the perception that the motif of judgment entailed a rejection of central aspects of Jewish religion, such as observance of Torah, Q 11.42c and 16.17 were added to the two sections of Q that were most readily open to mis-interpretation.

This analysis is built on a number of important hypotheses that are open to alternative assessments. The whole theory of the stratified composition of Q has undergone considerable challenge⁶⁸. While it is not necessary to reject Kloppenborg's central thesis that there were two major layers, the sapiential (Q¹) and the prophetic judgment layer (Q²), the detection of Q³ appears to be based on little more than a certain unevenness in the thematic perspectives contained in Q 11.39-52; and 16.16-18. However, it is not necessary to posit that this tension was introduced in the final redaction of Q. It is equally possible that this was an original feature of the traditions gathered together in the Q² layer. The concluding comment in Q 11.42, ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι καὶ εἶναι μὴ παρεῖναι may be correctly recognized as cohering with the perspective on the law contained in Q 16.17. This, however, does not mean that it represents a later addition to the woes section. Fledermann provides arguments that show both structurally and thematically how this clause is not out of place within the sequence of woes. Yet even more fundamentally, the assumption that this is a later addition appears to be predicated on the very hypothesis that Arnal is trying to establish – namely that the Q community was a Jewish sectarian group with allegiance to Jesus and through these two glosses it was trying to counter or correct the claim that it was promoting a law-free version of belief in Jesus. Thus he states:

⁶⁷ ARNAL, "The Q Document", 129.

⁶⁸ At the Chicago Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (17 Nov 2012) a session was devoted to celebrating and re-assessing the impact of KLOPPENBORG'S *The Formation of Q*. The presenters were C.M. Tuckett, P. Foster, W.E. Arnal, D.C. Allison, with a response from J.S. Kloppenborg.

The people responsible for Q appear to have considered themselves ethnically Jewish at every stage of the document's development. Interestingly, however, Q became more ideologically Jewish over time; that is, it appears to have developed more and more “typical features” of Jewish religious belief at each stage of its development. At the earliest stage, it lacks a great many of these features. With each new redaction, however, the ideological features of the document increase, so that by its third stage of development, Q belongs firmly and quite “typically” within the Jewish religious tradition ⁶⁹.

Not only does this assessment depend on the need to assent to the theory of the stratified formation of Q — especially the most speculative aspect, the existence of a minimal but highly significant Q³ layer — but it is based on a number of assessments concerning which there is little consensus. First, as has been discussed, the detection of features that reveal a Jewish ideology is extremely slight. There are no explicit statements that affirm observance of typical Jewish boundary marking practices such as the practice of circumcision, Sabbath observance and maintenance of food laws. The relationship with the synagogue is also ambiguous in Q. While Arnal argues that a practice such as circumcision is not “a sufficient index of Jewish identity, since non-Jews may be circumcised for a variety of reasons”, it would almost certainly be a *necessary* index. This would be the case especially if Q believers were in the process of increasing their ideological commitment to Jewish religious tradition. Moreover, it appears strange that they did not articulate their position in relation to what was such a divisive issue in the early church if they were consciously seeking to self-identify as Jewish. Furthermore, Arnal's handling of passages in Q that are often seen as pro-Gentile is based on his underlying assumptions about the ethnic composition of the Q community. Thus he states that based on Q 12.30 and (perhaps) 6.33-34 one can make “the unproblematized assumption that the Q people are themselves Jewish and live in a Jewish environment”. However, this assumption is far from “unproblematized”, and the overall difficulty with Arnal's assessment is the need, as a prior step, to accept certain theories concerning the stratified formation of Q in three discrete and discernible stages as well as accepting his theory that Q was the product of a

⁶⁹ ARNAL, “The Q Document”, 137-138.

circle of northern Galilean village scribes. Neither of these assumptions has gone uncontested, and, perhaps more importantly, they are themselves highly speculative.

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Perhaps it need not be stated, but the primary purpose of Q is not to communicate information about its own social setting ⁷⁰. Instead it seeks to transmit those traditions it conveys as being central teachings and pronouncements of Jesus. Furthermore, it seeks to account for how the rejected figure of Jesus can be claimed as the teacher *par excellence* for Q believers. As Tuckett states, this position is defended by noting that “as a prophetic figure Jesus is thus in a line of continuity with all the prophets” ⁷¹. Therefore it is unsurprising that no clear statement concerning the social location of the community behind Q emerges from the text — that is not the purpose of this type of document.

Secondly, it is unsurprising that a document that recounts the teachings of the Jewish figure Jesus reflects Jewish religious beliefs and controversies. The debate concerning the social location of Q cannot be determined by requiring the document to be free of Jewish elements in order for it to be understood as open to Gentile converts. In fact if that were the case, Q would have little claim to preserve authentic Jesus traditions. What is perhaps significant is that a document which recounts the story of a Jewish teacher, and may have compiled traditions collected by those who were ethnically Jewish, at a number of points commends the faith of Gentiles (Q 7.1, 3, 6-9), criticizes Jewish institutions and practices (Q 12.11), and can also preserve sayings that downgrade the importance of Torah (Q 16.16, 18), albeit alongside more traditional affirmations of the law and its requirements (Q 11.42c; 16.17). That such per-

⁷⁰ As Fleddermann states, “the author deliberately effaced identifying features in the service of the author’s aim to present a universal vision of Christianity rooted in Jesus’ kingdom proclamation. Anyone qualifies as a reader of Q who wants to hear the message of God’s kingdom proclaimed by Jesus, and the gospel Q does not disappoint such a reader”, FLEDDERMANN, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 167.

⁷¹ TUCKETT, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 236.

spectives have entered into the document suggests that at least at some stage of its transmission there were tradents who downgrade the traditional centrality of Torah within their own socio-religious context and also adopted a positive outlook towards the inclusion of believing Gentiles within the group.

Notwithstanding these striking features, perhaps it is equally important to state that Q reveals very little of its original context or of its attitude towards either typical Jewish religious practices or openness towards Gentiles. The available evidence is limited, and consequently conclusions are tentative. Streeter's assessment that Q was written in Antioch for Gentile believers was linked to his reconstruction of wider source-critical issues as well as debates in early Christianity. Similarly, Arnal's suggestion that Q was written for a Torah observant sectarian Jewish group located in northern Galilee reflects his own understanding of the origin and development of the Jesus movement⁷². That Q traditions are so malleable, and that competing reconstructions can gain enough support from the traditions contained in Q by enabling certain elements to support diametrically opposed views should at least give pause for thought.

This raises questions not only about the theological perspectives of the traditions that are contained in Q, but also whether a document of the genre and with the contents of Q is capable of such a classification. When such traditions are taken up by Matthew, or by authors of documents such as the *Gospel of Ebionites*, many scholars conclude that they were used to promote a greater degree of law-observance and Jewish ideology. By contrast, when Luke takes up those same traditions he can use this material, including Q 11.42c and 16.17, to address Gentiles like Theophilus without feeling any embarrassment⁷³.

Is Q a Jewish Christian document? Well, it depends upon who was using it and for what purposes. Did Q promote Torah observance? There appears to be no evidence to show that it expected its readers to practice circumcision, to maintain the sacrificial system, or to observe Sabbath. Does Q reveal a uniformly negative attitude toward Gentiles? It can stereotype their practices, while also seeing them as examples of belief and partakers in the eschatolog-

⁷² ARNAL, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 160-161.

⁷³ See P.F. ESLER, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*. The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology (SNTSMS 57; Cambridge 1987).

ical banquet. Q is a complex document with competing perspectives which itself may reveal a community that had undergone, and was still undergoing, a process of transformation in its own understanding of the implications of Jesus' teachings. In the process, traditional inherited perspectives mellowed and the possibility of Gentiles sharing the blessings promised by the community's foundational teacher became a reality. Hence while many Q traditions may have originated among Jewish Christians, the more inclusive perspectives of the document and its composition in Greek suggest that when those traditions were compiled the group held a more inclusive and outward looking attitude toward Gentiles.

University of Edinburgh
Mound Place
Edinburgh EH1 2LX - UK

Paul FOSTER

SUMMARY

Recent research has generated different hypotheses concerning the social location of Q. This discussion commences with an examination of scholarship on the phenomenon of "Jewish Christianity" and theories concerning the social location of Q. Next, meta-level questions are addressed, concerning how social location is determined from a text. The discussion then considers four areas mentioned in Q that might be of potential significance for determining social location. These are references to synagogues, the law, Gentiles, and unbelieving Israel. In conclusion, the inclusive perspectives may suggest that the document had a more positive attitude toward Gentiles than is often stated.

Paul's Exhortations in Gal 5,16-25 From the Apostle's Techniques to His Theology

In the Letter to the Galatians, difficult verses abound and thus provide numerous choices for study. If I have chosen to present Gal 5,16-25, it is because this passage provides me with the opportunity to give my opinion about three controversial points: (1) where does the exhortative section begin: in Gal 5,1 or 5,13; (2) what is the meaning of Gal 5,17?; and (3) how can Paul's emphasis on the flesh/Spirit enmity in Gal 5,16-25 be explained? And since the meaning of the flesh/Spirit opposition depends mostly on the interpretation of Gal 5,17, I will focus on this verse, the difficulties of which are well-known, so much so that it has even been said that this verse is "one of the most difficult in the whole letter"¹. If, however, I am here taking up again the study of this verse in its context, it is less to present new interpretations than to state some of the important consequences that Paul's thought on justification has had on the exhortative part of the letters to the Galatians and to the Romans.

I. The Limits of the Exhortative Part of Galatians

For some exegetes, the exhortative part begins in Gal 5,1, but for others in 5,13. In order to determine with certainty the beginning of this part, it is important to take into account the Apostle's way of proceeding in this letter, a way of proceeding that is customary for him. Indeed, paradoxically, in many of his argumentations, Paul does not treat questions at the level at which they are asked. And this is the case in Galatians, in which the question that was confronting the communities of the region was clearly that of the circumcision of believers coming from paganism. But Paul does not give an immediate response by declaring loudly and clearly his rejection of circumcision but first makes a long detour in order to show that his answer comes from the gospel.

¹ J.M.G. BARCLAY, *Obedying the Truth*. A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians (Studies of the New Testament and its World; Edinburgh 1988) 112.

Let us briefly show that this way of proceeding is found in the Pauline letters more often than is thought. In 1 Corinthians 1, Paul says that he has heard about the disputes concerning the apostles that exist among the members of the community. But instead of responding immediately, he begins by recalling the overthrow of the values brought about by the Cross in order to point out to the Christians of Corinth that they have remained attached to the values of the world and have not yet entered into those of the gospel, which are totally opposed to the former. Only in 3,5-17 does he give his response — that the apostles are only the servants of the gospel and that what is important is the status of the community. In short, he makes a detour, which is in fact foundational, because he returns to the decisive event of the Cross and emphasizes above all that ecclesiological questions find their answer primarily in Christology. Elsewhere, I have shown that this same way is used in 1 Corinthians 8-10; 12-14; and 15 ². This recurrence confirms Paul's tendency to postpone the immediate responses (or to be content with them); it also shows that in his responses, the Apostle is less concerned with his correspondents' reasons or motivations than with the consequences of their position. That is why it is often difficult to reconstruct with exactness the situations or the difficulties confronting the Christians whom Paul is addressing.

From the sections of 1 Corinthians that have just been mentioned, one can draw an important methodological conclusion. In these argumentations, the Apostle only responds to the communities' problems and questions after a more or less long and radical detour has been made. This means that one must be careful not to conclude too quickly that the communities' problems determine the rhetorical genre of the Pauline letters ³, because it is not the communities' problems that provide the criteria that determine the letters' rhetorical genre but the way in which Paul treats them. Thus, 1 Corinthians 14 could cause one to think that the genre of the entire

² J.-N. ALETTI, "La rhétorique paulinienne", *Paul, une théologie en construction* (eds. A. DETTWILER – J.D. KAESTLI – D. MARGUERAT) (Geneva 2004) 47-66; repeated in ID., *New Approaches for Interpreting the Letters of Saint Paul. Collected Essays. Rhetoric, Soteriology, Christology and Ecclesiology* (Rome 2012) 11-35.

³ As everyone knows, the three ancient rhetorical genres are the judiciary, the deliberative, and the epideictic.

section 1 Corinthians 12–14 is deliberative — because what the Apostle really wants is to lead his correspondents to *concrete* decisions. But by enlarging his response, which includes the eulogy of *agapē* (1 Corinthians 13) and which is of the epideictic genre, Paul is showing us that a concrete question can also be treated epideictically. For he judges it to be less important to tell his correspondents what concrete decisions they must make than to give them the means of rectifying their values and the false or superficial idea that they still have of the gospel.

Thus, if the Apostle's tendency is to take a step back and not immediately respond to concrete questions but rather to carry the debate to a greater radicality, this means that his discourse is much less contingent than has been said, because more than creating a casuistic work, he is enlarging the questions by stating the fundamental and lasting relationships without which the questions (and the answers) would lose their pertinence ⁴.

Let us return to Galatians, in which the way of proceeding is the same. If it is true that the question confronted by the Christians of this region, the majority coming from pagan origins, is circumcision, Paul does not immediately enjoin them not to be circumcised. In Galatians 1–2, the question of circumcision only appears progressively ⁵. Not until Gal 5,2 does Paul declare to them: "If you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage (*ôphelēsei*) to you." ⁶ For the Apostle has used the preceding chapters to remind them of the main point of the gospel by showing them that circumcision — in others words, their becoming subjects of the Mosaic Law — has no part in it, because circumcision can make them neither sons nor heirs. Since Galatians consists of a fundamental restating of the gospel and its consequences, one

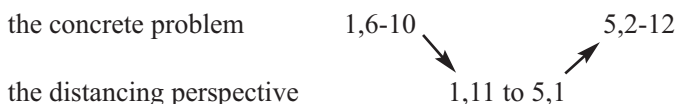
⁴ Incidentally, this propensity to go to the root of questions in order to deepen and universalize them curiously resembles Hellenism's way of proceeding, as has been magnificently shown by J. DE ROMILLY, *Pourquoi la Grèce?* (Paris 1992). Clearly, the observation means neither to deny nor forget Paul's Jewish and scriptural background but only to highlight the influence that Greek culture and education had in the world at that time. On this subject, see the interesting work of M. RASTOIN, *Tarse et Jérusalem. La double culture de l'apôtre Paul en Galates 3,6–4,7* (AnBib 152; Rome 2003).

⁵ The first mention is found in Gal 2,7.

⁶ The verb *ôpheleō* designates the goal of the deliberative genre, namely the useful. This is what has caused some to interpret what Galatians is saying as belonging to this genre.

can see that Paul's goal is to communicate not so much moral instructions but rather the extraordinary power of the gospel.

In short, after the long distancing perspective, which goes from Gal 1,11 to 5,1 and treats the question at a deeper and more radical level, Paul is able to return to the concrete situation and express his disapproval of whoever is thinking about being circumcised or already has been. As for the unit Gal 5,2-12, in which Paul gives an explicit opinion on circumcision, it proceeds in two subunits, vv. 2-6 and 7-12. In the first, Paul takes up the situation in Galatia and the resolutions anticipated by the area's believers along with their consequences (vv. 2-4); he then contrasts these plans with the situation in Christ (vv. 5-6). In the second, he portrays the opponents and stigmatizes their influence on the Galatians: if he sees that all will end positively for them (those who will change their opinion), he nevertheless announces the rejection of the agitators. Paul's way of proceeding can thus be diagrammed:



If I have laid out Paul's way of proceeding in Galatians, it is in order to show that the concrete problem was that of the circumcision of the ethnic Christians and not questions concerning dietary and cultic regulations; furthermore, it is the distancing perspective that has allowed him to radicalize the problem and to show that if the ethnic Christians yielded to the Judaizers, the effects would be devastating.

II. The Composition of the Exhortations of Gal 5,13-25

Thus, the exhortative part of the letter goes from Gal 5,13 to 6,10 and includes three units that are easily identifiable thanks to the thematic changes and to their composition: 5,13-15⁷, 5,16-25 and 5,26-6,10. Some commentators connect 5,26 with 5,16-25 but others with 6,1-10. Because Gal 6,1 is not syntactically linked to

⁷ A concentrically composed unit: *a*¹ exhortation (5,13), *b* motivations (5,14), and *a*² resumption of the exhortation (5,15).

what precedes it and begins with an apostrophe ("Brothers"), the first reading seems to be favorable; but, in Paul, this apostrophe does not necessarily indicate the beginning of another rhetorical unit ⁸. In fact, Gal 5,26 is introducing the themes that are developed in Gal 6,1-10 ⁹.

As for Gal 5,16-25, its unity is easily noted thanks to the opposition of the flesh/Spirit. If all commentators agree in recognizing an alternation of these two terms, they are not in agreement on the passage's composition. According to Dunn, the section falls fairly naturally into an *abccba* pattern that runs from v. 16 to v. 24 ¹⁰:

a 16-17	assurance against desire of flesh
b 18	led by Spirit, not under law
c 19-21	works of flesh
c 22-23a	fruit of Spirit ...
b 23b	... law not against
a 24	assurance against flesh and its desires

It is possible to refine the composition, mainly semantic, noted by Dunn by first observing that, like the preceding verses (vv. 13-15) and like numerous exhortative units in the Pauline letters, the overall composition is concentric:

a^1 = 5,16	exhortation announcing the theme
	b = 5,17-24 motivations or reasons,
a^2 = 5,25	repetition of the exhortation

The positive exhortation in v. 16a is immediately followed by its negative consequence (v. 16b) and portrays the two opposing powers, the Spirit (*c*) and the flesh (*d*), to which this unit is devoted ¹¹:

⁸ See, e.g., Rom 1,13; 10,1; 1 Cor 7,24; 14,20; Phil 3,13; 1 Thess 5,25.

⁹ Not to yield to vainglory by believing oneself superior but by becoming the servant of the weakest.

¹⁰ See J.D.G. DUNN, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Peabody, MA 1993) 295.

¹¹ The letters *c/C* designate the statements relating to flesh and the letters *d/D* those relating to the Spirit. The lower case letters designate the short units and the upper case letters the longer units.

exhortation (pos.) *c* ^{16a} (But I say) walk by the Spirit
 (neg.) *d* ^{16b} and you will not gratify the desires of the flesh.

The exhortation's motivation (vv. 16-24) unfolds by continuing the flesh/Spirit alternation ¹²:

motivations *d* ¹⁷ For the flesh desires against the Spirit but the Spirit desires against the flesh, for those (powers) fight each another ¹³ to prevent you from doing those (things) you would.
c ¹⁸ But if you are led by the Spirit you are not under the law.

*development
 of the motivations*

the works of the flesh *D* ¹⁹ Now the works of the flesh are plain: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, ²⁰ idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party spirit, ²¹ envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like. I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

the fruit of the Spirit *C* ²² But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, ²³ gentleness, self-control; against such there is no law.

conclusion ²⁴ And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires.

Thus the motivation is deployed in two stages. In the first (vv. 17-18), Paul shows why it is important to allow oneself to be guided and led by the Spirit and not by the flesh: these two powers are op-

¹² Vv. 18-25, tr. RSV.

¹³ No matter what has been said by O. HOFIUS, "Widerstreit zwischen Fleisch und Geist?" in *Id., Exegetische Studien* (WUNT 223; Tübingen 2008) 161-172, for whom the enmity is passive ("feind sein"), the repetition of the verb ἐπιθυμέω + κατά, clearly means that the verb ἀντίκειμαι must have an active connotation ("streiten", "kämpfen") (p. 165).

posed to each other, and one cannot associate them. In the second (vv. 19-23), the effects of each of these two powers are described, effects that clearly manifest the opposition stated in the first stage.

III. Gal 5,17: Difficulties and Proposals

The overall arrangement does not pose a major problem, in as much as the flesh/Spirit alternation is obvious, as has been seen by Dunn:

(d)	v. 17	the flesh
(c)	v. 18	the Spirit ¹⁴
(D)	vv. 19-21	the flesh and its works
(C)	vv. 22-23	the Spirit and its fruits.

The alternation, which is barely described, invites considering v. 17 as principally speaking of the flesh and its negative designs. Nevertheless, its syntactical construction can be interpreted in various ways and actually has been. The relationship of the four propositions or stiches

¹⁴ Commentators note the ambiguity of the term πνεῦμα, which can designate the human spirit or the divine Spirit. If there is actually an ambiguity in vv. 17-18, vv. 22-23 definitively remove it, because charity and the other fruits mentioned have the divine πνεῦμα as their origin. Moreover, if in this passage πνεῦμα designated the human spirit, it would cause a semantic anarchy, since all the preceding occurrences of the word in Galatians designated the Holy Spirit. Thus, even if the human spirit “is that aspect of the person that is open to domination by the Holy Spirit”, D. HARRINGTON – J. KEENAN, *Paul and Virtue Ethics* (Lanham, MD 2010) 110, and if for this reason it is in opposition to the flesh and could be the power designated by Paul in v. 17, vv. 22-23 nevertheless invite seeing the divine Spirit designated by the word *pneuma*. In order to indicate this, here the word Spirit will be capitalized. This being said, although the Spirit is of divine origin, it is not only external to the believer: the exhortations in Galatians 5 must be read according to and in relation to the preceding occurrences of the vocable, in particular Gal 4,6, in which it is said that “God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts”.

- (α) ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ ¹⁵ τοῦ πνεύματος,
- (β) τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός,
- (γ) ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται,
- (δ) ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

raises important soteriological and anthropological questions. Three readings are possible: in the first two, (δ) can be connected with (γ), but in the third, (δ) can also be related to (α), in which case (β) and (γ) form an incidental clause. But even if (δ) does depend upon (γ), two possible readings exist. For the first, the flesh/Spirit antagonism would result in the paralysis of the believer: “for ¹⁶ these (things) ¹⁷ are opposed to one another so that (ἵνα) ¹⁸ you cannot do the things that you would” ¹⁹. The verse has often been understood as describ-

¹⁵ J.L. MARTYN, *Galatians* (AB 33; New York 1998) 493, rightly notes that only here is the verb *epithymeō* with *kata* and the genitive encountered and asks if there could not be an influence of Aramaic syntax.

¹⁶ The Greek conjunction *gar* in v. 17α and 17γ is each time explicative and not causal. Cf. A.M. BUSCEMI, *Lettera ai Galati* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Analecta 63; Jerusalem 2004) 551.

¹⁷ The neuter demonstrative pronoun *tauta* in v. 17γ clearly designates the flesh and the Spirit. As a consequence of their having different genders in Greek (flesh = feminine; Spirit = neuter), the pronoun must be neuter. This neuter pronoun does not allow concluding that Paul is making the flesh and the Spirit impersonal entities. With good reason, BUSCEMI, *Galati*, 552, opposes H.D. BETZ, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1979) 279, for whom “[t]he neuter *tauta* (these things) identifies flesh and Spirit as impersonal forces acting within man and waging war against each other”. Undoubtedly, it would be better to translate it with “powers/forces” rather than “things”.

¹⁸ In that case, the ἵνα would be consecutive.

¹⁹ The King James Translation. According to Dunn, in order for the verse to make sense, it is necessary for the *hina* to be final (telic) and not consecutive. But “[t]his fact forbids taking *ha ean thelēte* as referring to the things which one naturally, by the flesh, desires, and understanding the clause as an expression of the beneficent result of walking by the Spirit.” He adds: “The final clause is to be understood not as expressing the purpose of God ... (for neither is the subject of the sentence a word referring to God, nor is the thought thus yielded a Pauline thought), nor of the flesh alone, nor of the Spirit alone, but as the purpose of both flesh and Spirit, in the sense that the flesh opposes the Spirit that men may not do what they will in accordance with the mind of the Spirit, and the Spirit opposes the flesh that they may not do what they will after the flesh. Does the man choose evil, the Spirit opposes him; does he choose good, the flesh hinders him”. DUNN, *Galatians*, 297.

ing a situation analogous to that in Rom 7,15 and 20²⁰. For the second reading, far from causing the paralysis of the believer, the flesh/Spirit antagonism, on the contrary, prompts him to discernment and not to do everything that comes to mind, in other words, what is injurious and evil: "these things are opposed to one another in order to prevent you from doing whatever you would." The third reading, which has recently been proposed, makes (β) and (γ) an incidental clause and connects (δ) to (α): "For the flesh desires against the Spirit — and the Spirit desires against the flesh; for those fight each other²¹ — to prevent you from doing those things you would". In this case, the verse is describing the negative designs of the flesh against the Spirit in order to prevent believers from doing the good they would like to do, and, by using an incidental clause, Paul adds that the Spirit does not remain passive, his role being precisely to thwart the designs of the flesh.

An example of the first reading is found in Dunn's commentary²², for whom the verse is describing the situation of the Christian, in whom the Spirit's action exacerbates the human experience in general: "Where life previously could be lived on the level of the flesh with little or no self-questioning, now the presence of the Spirit brings with it a profound disease with the reduction of humanity to the level of animal appetites. It is important to recognize that Paul sees this as a Christian condition"²³. A situation about which he thus comments: "There is no perfection for the Christian in this life; the desires of flesh as well as of Spirit characterize the ongoing process of salvation"²⁴. Whether the meaning given to the conjunction ἵνα is final or consecutive, the result of this struggle is the same: the flesh prevents the believer from

²⁰ For here and there, one encounters a contrast between wanting and doing (in Greek, θέλειν/ποιεῖν), since Paul says that one cannot do what one wants. A reading that is generally qualified as Lutheran.

²¹ The ἀντίκειται is generally translated "are opposed". In order to avoid the opposition being interpreted passively, I have preferred to use an active verb.

²² The same reading in MARTYN, *Galatians*, 494, who, furthermore, notes that given v. 16, "one should have expected quite a different closure in this sentence: 'for the Flesh is actively inclined against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh.' These two powers constitute a pair of opposites at war with one another, and the result of this war, commenced by the Spirit, is that the Spirit is in the process of liberating you from the power of the Flesh".

²³ DUNN, *Galatians*, 297.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

doing what the Spirit prompts him to do, and reciprocally, the Spirit prevents the same believer from following the solicitations of the flesh. Such a situation can be qualified as paralysis; still according to Dunn (and others with him), it is analogous to what is described in Rom 7,14-25. This being said, today commentators, on the whole, admit to a difference between Gal 5,16-25 and Rom 7,7-25, which is not speaking about the Christian but the man without Christ; they are also convinced that the context of Gal 5,17, in particular Gal 5,24, is not describing believers paralyzed by an interior struggle, because if they allow themselves to be led by the Spirit, they are not yielding to the desires of the flesh: "And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires"²⁵. Indeed, the passage's dynamic assumes that believers are able to be led by the Spirit and actually are; otherwise, the exhortation would no longer make sense: what would be the good of exhorting believers who were prevented from following the solicitations of the flesh as well as the promptings of the Spirit?

However, because the immediate context of v. 17 assumes that the believers are able to escape from the slavery of the flesh and are able to be guided by the Spirit, exegetes have been compelled to interpret this verse in a different way, as witnessed by the second and third readings. As seen above, for the second, the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit has a positive result, namely preventing us from doing whatever we want, in other words, no matter what, or even from wanting to satiate all our impulses²⁶. The struggle between the flesh and the Spirit permits some options and excludes others. In short, this struggle prompts the believer to discern between what must be avoided (what is evil and thus harmful) and what must be preferred (what is good and thus profitable). If, in this case, the Greek relative pronoun *ἃ* is given a distributive meaning ("all those things that") or even a universal one ("absolutely all the things that"), it is nevertheless actually designating the evil orientations or impulses. A passage from Plato's *Lysis*²⁷, in which some expressions are close to those of Gal 5,17, seems to favor this interpretation:

²⁵ Gal 5,24. Translation RSV.

²⁶ In addition to BARCLAY, *Obedying the Truth*, 113, and the authors cited in J. LAMBRECHT, "The Right Things You Want to Do. A note on Gal 5,17a", *Bib* 79 (1998) 515-524, see the commentary of A. VANHOYE, *Lettera ai Galati* (Milano 2000) 136.

²⁷ *Lysis*, 207e-208a. Cf. RASTOIN, *Tarse et Jérusalem*, 234-243, in which is found a commentary on the passage and an interesting comparison with

Socrates – (207e) Do you consider that a man is happy when enslaved and restricted from doing the things he desires (ποιεῖν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῖ)?

Lysis - Not I, on my word.

Socrates - Then if your father and mother are fond of you, and desire to see you happy, it is perfectly plain that they are anxious to secure your happiness.

Lysis - They must be, of course.

Socrates - Hence they allow you to do what you want/like (ἐῶσιν ἄρα σε ἃ βούλει ποιεῖν), and never scold you, or hinder (διακωλύουσιν) you from doing what you (could possibly) desire (ποιεῖν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήῃς)?

Lysis - Yes, they do, Socrates. I assure you: they stop me from doing a great many things (μάλα γε πολλά κωλύουσιν).

In short, if one compares this passage from *Lysis* with Gal 5,17, one could say that in the second reading the parents and the flesh/Spirit struggle have the same role, that of preventing the children/believers from desiring anything whatsoever and thus confusing true liberty with the absence of all constraint. In this case, Paul could have implicitly continued with the metaphor used in Galatians 4, once again reminding the Christians of Galatia that they have remained small children in need of a pedagogue who prevents them from doing all that they would like, from following all their desires, especially the most foolish and dangerous, in order that progressively they may experiment with what is true liberty, since, for the Socrates of *Lysis*, as for him, such is the role of the pedagogue²⁸. Nevertheless, the comparison remains dubious, because it is the Spirit, and he alone, who prevents the believers from doing whatever might come to mind. In other words, more than the reciprocal flesh/Spirit enmity, it is the intervention and kind attention of the Spirit (and his alone) that prevents the believers from following all their impulses. One may also ask if in Gal 5,17δ, the relative pronoun has all the extension — and the distributive meaning — that the second reading gives to it. Indeed, when Paul wants to give the maximal (or distributive) extension to a relative pronoun,

Gal 4,1-2, because the ideas and words in common with *Lysis* and Galatians 3-4 are too numerous to speak of a coincidence.

²⁸ *Lysis* 208c and Gal 3,24; 4,1-3.

he precedes it with the adjective *πᾶς*, as in Col 3,17: *πᾶν ὃ τι ἐὰν ποιῇτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ* (“Whatever you do, in word or deed”), or Gal 3,10: *ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου* (“Cursed be every one who does not abide by all things written in the book of the law”) ²⁹; he also uses both the definite relative pronouns (*ὅσος* ³⁰, *οἷος* ³¹) and the indefinites (*ὅστις* ³², *ὁποῖος* ³³). But because none of these relative pronouns appear in Gal 5,17, it is uncertain whether the simple *ἃ* should be translated by “whatever”.

Another possibility, a little different from the preceding one, presents itself and understands the relative pronoun as referring to negative things: “the evil things that you want to do”. The verse would then be saying that in the flesh/Spirit struggle, it is the Spirit that triumphs over the flesh and prevents us from executing the evil things to which the flesh impels us. Although in complete agreement with the immediate context, in which Paul assumes that the Christians are allowing themselves to be guided by the Spirit, this reading has been rejected by another exegete ³⁴. And if Paul had wanted to indicate that the believers want to do evil, it would have been easy to add an *ad hoc* adjective. Would it not be better, with others, to interpret this relative pronoun positively: “the good things that you would like to do?” Those, like Lambrecht, for whom this is the meaning of the relative pronoun, invoke the positive denotation that the Greek verb *θέλω* has in Rom 7,14-20 ³⁵. Even if the situation of the *egô* in Rom

²⁹ Translation RSV. Deut 27,26 reads: *ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ* ... etc. See also Rom 10,13.

³⁰ 25x in total; in particular, 5x in Gal (3,10, 27; 4,1, 6,12, 16). The neuter plural *ὅσα* is found in Rom 3,19; 15,4 and Phil 4,8 (6x).

³¹ 10x in total (but not in Galatians).

³² Gal 5,10, Phil 2,20 and Col 3,17 that has just been mentioned.

³³ 1 Cor 3,13; Gal 2,6; 1 Thess 1,9. But he does not utilize *ὁπόσος*.

³⁴ BARCLAY, *Obedying the Truth*, 114, according to whom, this interpretation “has the great advantage of fitting the context well, supporting and illustrating the confident statement of 5,16. [But] [i]ts problems lie in accommodating the central clause (“these are opposed to each other”) and explaining why ‘whatever you want’ should be taken as ‘what the flesh desires’” (emphasis mine).

³⁵ Cf. Rom 7,15.16.18.19.20. On this exact point, see J. LAMBRECHT, “The Right Things You Want to Do. A Note on Galatians 5,17d”, *Bib* 79 (1998) 515-524.

7,7-25 and that of the believers in Gal 5,16-24 is different, because the *egô* in Rom 7,7ff is not Christian, it is necessary to admit that Gal 5,17 is not considering the good or evil desires of the Christian but the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit, which are the only active realities ³⁶. Indeed, the flesh struggles against the Spirit (and not directly against the believers), and if it struggles against the Spirit, it is so that believers cannot be protected and as a result produce those evil works that are of the flesh and are enumerated in vv. 19-21. Indeed, v. 17 supposes that the believers want to be led by the Spirit and its meaning depends on that of the surrounding verses, namely v. 16 ("walk by the Spirit") and v. 18a, a conditional proposition that takes up the line of thought and expresses an actual condition: "But if (= if it is true that) you are led by the Spirit". However, the objection made above on the negative denotation of the relative pronoun is also valid for a possible positive denotation in so far as one makes (δ) depend upon (γ).

As to the relative pronoun ὅ, it can have a positive denotation if one follows the third reading, which connects v. 17δ with 17α and makes the two intermediate lines (β and γ) an incidental clause, as the following disposition indicates, in which the hyphens indicate the limits of this incidental clause ³⁷:

- (α) For (γάρ) the flesh desires against the Spirit,
- (β) but (δέ) the Spirit desires against the flesh,
- (γ) for (γάρ) those (powers) fight each other —,
- (δ) to (ἵνα) prevent you from doing those (things) you would.

This way of seeing the relationships between lines gives a positive meaning to the relative pronoun ³⁸. The verse must then be understood thus: the flesh desires against the Spirit, in order to prevent you from doing the good that you would like (and that the Spirit prompts you to do). The two central lines, the incidental clause, have as their function supplying details to (α): the first (β), to indicate that the en-

³⁶ On the difference of the perspective in Romans 7 and Gal 5,17, see, e.g., BETZ, *Galatians*, 279-280.

³⁷ See the article by J. KILGALLAN, "The Strivings of the Flesh ... (Galatians 5,17)", *Bib* 80 (1999) 113-114, and the one by HOFIUS, "Widerstreit zwischen Fleisch und Geist?".

³⁸ Thus, Hofius, and it seems, Kilgallen.

mity is not one way, and the second (γ), which is an *expositio* ³⁹, to confirm that the flesh and the Spirit are really antagonistic powers and that this antagonism is not occasional but structural. To this reading, one can make some objections ⁴⁰. It is a fact that it is very recent; indeed, over the centuries, all readers have spontaneously connected (δ) with (γ). Likewise, because of the $\delta\epsilon$, which denotes a contrast, it seems difficult to separate (β) from (α); as for (γ), it seems to give the reason for both (α) and (β) and not only for (β). This being said, that this reading is recent does not invalidate its value, because several Pauline passages previously understood in erroneous ways have been revisited in recent decades and translated correctly ⁴¹. As for the relationship that exists between the different lines, however it may appear, the close connection between the contrast of (α) and (β) is not destroyed by the incidental clause, but just the opposite, since the latter has as its primary function explaining and clarifying the enigmatic formulation that (α) makes of the flesh/Spirit relationship. If ultimately the third reading has been preferred here, it is because of the rhetorical arrangement: since all the other units of vv.17-23 deal respectively with only one of the agents, the flesh (D) or the Spirit (c/C), that of v. 17 (d) must deal with the flesh and its desires (lines (α) and (δ)); and this means that in v. 17 the intermediary lines (β) and (γ) are an incidental clause.

Notwithstanding the explanations provided above on the incidental clause (β) + (γ), many readers connect (δ) with (γ) and stay with the second reading, and in the best of cases, the one proposed by Barclay and Vanhoye. Nevertheless, let us add that in other passages of his letters — such as 1 Cor 14,2 — Paul does not hesitate to insert parentheses that create semantic difficulties and oblige the reader to rely upon his memory if he wants to recover the discourse's line of thought ⁴². This could also be the same for Gal 5,17.

³⁹ A figure that consists of repeating, in greater detail, the same thing or the same argument in equivalent terms.

⁴⁰ A recent commentary has even declared that it was desperate but without showing why. Cf. J.P. LÉMONON, *L'épître aux Galates* (Commentaire biblique: Nouveau Testament 9; Paris 2008), 184, who follows rather the first reading.

⁴¹ I am thinking of Phil 3,9 and Col 1,24, in particular.

⁴² In 1 Cor 14,2, the explicative parenthesis “for no one (*oudeis*) understands him” raises the question of what is the subject of the following verb (“he utters mysteries”), which clearly cannot be the *oudeis* of the parenthesis, but “the one who speaks in tongues”.

In fact, the distance between "For the desires of the flesh are against the Spirit" and "to prevent you from doing what you would" ⁴³ is reduced; it does not prevent associating the final proposition with the first segment of the sentence. The adversative particle "but" (δέ) authorizes there being another part of the parenthesis or incidental clause, whereas a καί ("the flesh desires against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh") would make it impossible ⁴⁴.

None of the readings of Gal 5,17 that we have just presented are apodictically obvious. If here we have preferred the third to the other two, it is solely because it excellently respects the passage's dynamic and the alternation of the flesh/Spirit presentations. Indeed, it permits recovering the final value of the *hina*, and it makes complete sense, because if the flesh is opposed to the Spirit it is really so that we do not do what we want. As articulated by the third reading, the verse takes into account the argumentation's dynamic, that is, whoever is led by the Spirit can finally do what [that is to say, the good] he wants. Far from emphasizing a defeat, Paul is indirectly highlighting the superiority of the Spirit. As for the incidental clause, its function is also clear: Paul is reminding his readers that if the flesh struggles against the Spirit, the latter is there in order to respond to the attacks, because this is truly his role.

At this point, it is not a bad idea to retrace the route taken so far, because it clearly shows that different, even non-confessional, readings can have important theological consequences. The first reading highlights the imperfection, and, at the worst, the ethical paralysis of believers; for the second, Paul is wanting to recall that liberty is not the equivalent of an absence of all constraint and that believers must resist their impulses; according to the third, by recognizing that the flesh struggles against the Spirit, the Apostle is pointing out that the flesh has in the Spirit a lasting and effective antagonist. If each reading appeals to reasons that are non-confessional, their way of understanding the status of works in Paul is clearly felt. After having stated my agreement with the choice of the third reading for Gal 5,17, it remains for me to develop some of the components of the passage's exhortations.

⁴³ Translation RSV for both lines.

⁴⁴ Some current translations unfortunately understand it as if there were a *kai* ("and").

IV. The exhortations in Gal 5,13-15 and 16-25

The exegesis of Gal 5,17 reveals several interesting points:

- the flesh does not directly threaten the believer ⁴⁵ but does directly take on the Spirit;
- because it is the Spirit that the flesh opposes so that the Spirit cannot guide the believer in putting into action what (in other words, the good) the believer wants. And the incidental clause of the lines (β) and (γ) opportunely recalls that the Spirit is in no way passive.
- While recalling that the plan of the flesh is to render powerless the will and the liberty of believers and to prevent them from doing good, Paul implies, still in the incidental clause, that the Spirit is stronger than the flesh and that he is there precisely in order to defend them continually and effectively. Thus, v. 17 does not reflect a negative soteriology according to which believers cannot be freed from the mastery of the flesh.

The verses that follow clarify and confirm the statements in v. 17: the believers are left neither to their own strength nor enslaved to the flesh: they are able to allow themselves to be guided by the Spirit, and since this is so ⁴⁶, they have nothing to fear. This passage in Galatians and the one in Rom 8,1-17 are the only passages in Paul's letters in which he develops the opposition of the flesh/Spirit but without saying exactly what these vocables entail, assuming that his readers know. Rather than clarifying what the vocables designate ⁴⁷, it is more important to determine the function of their opposition in these exhortations.

⁴⁵ There would have been a direct opposition if Paul was speaking of the (human) spirit of the believer; but, as has been said above, what guides the believer and works in him is *agapē*, kindness, etc., and that can only be the divine Spirit.

⁴⁶ Let us recall that the conditional proposition in Gal 5,18a expresses an actual condition: "if you are led by the Spirit" is the equivalent of "since you are led by the Spirit".

⁴⁷ Let us recall that in this passage, the Greek word *pneuma* designates the Spirit of God, which has consistently been the case since its first occurrence in Gal 3,2. Other occurrences: Gal 3,3 (the first opposition of the flesh/Spirit); 3,5.14; 4,6.29; 5,5.16.18.22.25; 6,1.8.18.

But first, a short examination of v. 18 is essential. Why does Paul say that if believers are led by the Spirit, they are not “under the νόμος” (“Law”), whereas, after the thoughts on the opposition of the flesh/Spirit and its implications, the reader expects Paul to declare that they were “beyond the reach of the flesh”? And what does the word νόμος designate? The Mosaic Law, without a doubt, because it is not the first time that Galatians has utilized the expression “under the Law”⁴⁸, and it has always designated the Mosaic Law⁴⁹. If the affirmation in Gal 5,18 is new, it has nevertheless been prepared for by the preceding argumentations, in which Paul says that believers are dead to the Law (2,19), that they have not received the Spirit by practicing the Law (3,2), and that by liberating them from the slavery of the Law, God has made them sons/daughters by the gift of the Spirit (4,4f). The Law and the Spirit are thus incompatible, just like the flesh and the Spirit. Verse 18 also implies that the one and only true guide for believers is the Spirit and not the Law — which the Jews regard as a light for their steps, a sure guide towards salvation, etc.⁵⁰. Whoever has the Spirit for a guide is thus not submissive to the Law. But why has the vocable “Law” replaced “flesh” in v. 18? Because Paul is recalling and indirectly indicating to the Galatians that undergoing circumcision, and thus submitting to the Law, would mean their falling back under the power of the flesh, against which the Law remains powerless. In short, if they wanted to be “under the Law,” the Galatians would again be in the situation of subjection and enslavement (Gal 3,10ff and 4,5). As Dunn says, for Paul, “[t]o put oneself ‘under the law’, in other words, was to look in the wrong direction for salvation. Worse still, to assume that only ‘under the law’ could salvation be found was to deny the reality of Gentile as Gentile having received the Spirit”⁵¹.

One then understands why the theme of the Law runs throughout the exhortations in Gal 5,13-25: if the believers have been invited to fulfill the Law (5,14), they must not however become its subjects, because this would be for them falling back into slavery and

⁴⁸ The upper case letter indicates that it is a question of the Mosaic Law and not any other type of law.

⁴⁹ Cf. Gal 3,23; 4,4.5.21.

⁵⁰ Prov 6,23; Isa 51,4; Ps 118/119,30.

⁵¹ DUNN, *Galatians*, 300. For the Apostle, “Implicit here also is a clear distinction between being ‘under the law’ and ‘fulfilling the law’ (5,14)” (*ibid.*).

allowing themselves to be subjected to the flesh (5,13). Actually, the Law cannot judge and *a fortiori* condemn the fruits produced in them by the Spirit (5,23). In short, in this rhetorical unit, Paul wants to remind his readers of the ethical (and not only salvific, as in Galatians 1–4) results that a return to the Law would have — that it would concretely mean a return to the slavery of the flesh. The opposition of the flesh/Spirit in these exhortations thus refers indirectly but surely to the thought of Galatians 1–4 on justification. It is not a question of exhortations touching on particular sectors of life but of a radical attitude upon which all concrete decisions depend. In this respect, one will have noted that in Gal 5,16–25 there is a paucity of verbs that have believers as their active subjects⁵²; this obviously shows that Paul wants to emphasize how ethical behavior is conditioned by the salvific status, or even: doing by being.

If the background of Gal 5,16–25 is actually constituted by the status of the believers, who are not “under the Law” and thus are not slaves of the flesh, in other words, free, the passive in v. 18a (“if you are led [ἄγεσθε] by the Spirit”) seems, however, to denote a real determinism⁵³; but one also finds the same expression in Rom 8,14⁵⁴, and one cannot see in it any heteronomy whatsoever. If in Gal 5,16–25 Paul makes little of the believers’ behavior, it is only to highlight the power and the efficacy of the Spirit in their favor.

Recently I have shown, in regards to Gal 3,10–14, that in Galatians one cannot limit the problem of the Law to rules about Jewish festivals, food, and separation alone⁵⁵. And therefore, there is no reason to be astonished that if in Gal 5,16–25, in which Paul is reminding the believers of Galatia of what is at stake and the radicalness of the choice to be made — the flesh or the Spirit —, there are no specific exhortations concerning these rules. As was his custom, Paul is radicalizing the questions and emphasizing the stakes that

⁵² In v. 16 (exhortation), two verbs: “walk” and “do not gratify”; v. 17δ, two verbs: “what you would”, “prevent you from doing”; v. 25 “let us also walk”.

⁵³ Cf. Prov 18,2 (LXX); 2 Tim 3,6, in which the determinism is clear. For non-biblical examples, see the BAGD, ἄγω, §3.

⁵⁴ Incidentally, Rom 8,14 confirms the divine designation of the word *pneuma* in Gal 5,16–25.

⁵⁵ J.N. ALETTI, “L’argumentation de Ga 3,10–14, une fois encore. Difficultés et propositions”, *Bib* 92 (2001) 182–203 (English version ALETTI, *New Approaches for Interpreting the Letters of Saint Paul*, 237–260).

often have not been perceived by the churches he is addressing. This radicalization goes hand in hand with the focusing on what is essential; that is why the exhortations in Gal 5,16-25 place so much value on *agapē* and kindness towards the other believers ⁵⁶. If the list of vices (Gal 5,19-21) and virtues (Gal 5,22-23) are encountered elsewhere in Paul ⁵⁷, here the vocables denoting *agapē* or attitudes associated with it are more numerous ⁵⁸. Such an emphasis is understood if one recalls the statement in Gal 5,15: "if you bite and devour one another, take heed that you are not consumed by one another" ⁵⁹. The condition is true ("if it is true that"), and one can assuredly conclude that the question of the circumcision of the believers coming from the Gentile world must have provoked large divisions in the local communities, and what was at risk was the destruction or the disappearance of the church: here, the radicality of the ethical exhortations is in the service of ecclesial life. This also explains why all, or almost all, the exhortations that go from Gal 5,13 to 6,10 concern ecclesial life and not the relationships of the believers to "those outside" ⁶⁰. In short, after having led the believers in Galatia to the radicalness of the Gospel (Gal 1,11 to 5,1), Paul is reminding them that the ethical and ecclesial stakes of the situation are no less decisive ⁶¹.

⁵⁶ One will have noted that these exhortations are not saying how to behave towards those on the outside, in other words, those who are not members of the church. This does not mean that Paul is ignoring them, but that the question of circumcision was so urgent that he indirectly returns to them in the exhortations (Gal 5,16-25 and 6,8) and explicitly in the epistolary *post-scriptum* (6,12-16).

⁵⁷ In the Pauline letters: 2 Cor 6,6-7a; Eph 4,2-3,32; 5,9; Phil 4,8; Col 3,12, 1 Tim 3,2-4.8-10.11-12; 4,12; 6,11.18; 2 Tim 2,22-25; 3,10; Titus 1,8; 2,2-10, but also elsewhere in the NT and non-biblical literature. On the subject, see J.T. FITZGERALD, "Virtue/Vices Lists", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, VI, 875f. For the list of vices in Paul other than Gal 5,19-21, see Rom 1,29-31; 13,13, 1 Cor 5,10-11; 6,9-10; 2 Cor 12,20-21; Eph 4,31; 5,3-5; Col 3,5-8; 1 Tim 1,9-10; 6,4-5; 2 Tim 3,2-4; Titus 1,7; 3,3.

⁵⁸ Love (ἀγάπη) 2 Cor 6,6-7; Eph 4,2; peace (εἰρήνη) only in Galatians 5; patience (μακροθυμία) 2 Cor 6,6; Eph 4,2; Col 3,12; kindness (χρηστότης) 2 Cor 6,6; Col 3,12; goodness (ἀγαθωσύνη) Eph 5,9; meekness (πραΰτης) Gal 6,1; Eph 4,2; Col 3,12, 2 Tim 2,25.

⁵⁹ Translation RSV.

⁶⁰ The exhortation in Gal 6,10b, "[L]et us do good to all men (πρὸς πάντας)" (tr. RSV) is the only one to enlarge the ethical horizon.

⁶¹ If the exhortations in Gal 5,13-25 stress *agapē* and kindness towards

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After having laid out the boundaries of the exhortative part of Galatians, and after having shown that one cannot interpret Gal 5,17 negatively, as describing the ethical paralysis of the believers, it has been possible for us to take into account the importance given to the opposition of the flesh/Spirit that goes from 5,13 to 6,10. The radicality of the ethical choices (the flesh or the Spirit) and, from there, the ecclesial consequences, clearly indicate *a posteriori* the decisive importance of the argumentation in Galatians 1–4: what is a stake is quite simply the gospel!

The repeated mention of the term νόμος in these exhortations also shows, if there were need, that the Law remains on the horizon of Paul's thoughts and confirms the radicality of his position: he is not only criticizing the importance given to the identity markers, in other words to the erroneous usage of the Law, but he is also placing the Law beside the flesh and indicating that it cannot be a way of salvation.

Pontifical Biblical Institute
Via della Pilotta, 25
I-00187 Rome

Jean-Noël ALETTI

SUMMARY

After having shown that Gal 5,13-25 forms a rhetorical and semantic unit, the article examines Gal 5,17, a *crux interpretum*, and proves that the most plausible reading is this one: "For the flesh desires against the Spirit — but the Spirit desires against the flesh, for those [powers] fight each other — to prevent you from doing those things you would", and draws its soteriological consequences.

the brothers, they are not however proposing Christ as a model of welcome and compassion. Compare with Rom 14,15, 15,7; Eph 5,2, 25; Col 3,13. This comes without a doubt from the importance given to the divine Spirit and to the effects of his presence in the believers in 5,22-23.

Does *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* imply “the sins of the whole world” in 1 John 2,2?

Since the 1916 edition of A. Plummer’s *Epistles of John*¹, critics have been increasingly sensitive to how the three *περί*-clauses in 1 John 2,2 make for difficult interpretation². The last of these has often been rendered “concerning the sin(s) of the whole world”³. The English “the sin(s)” is inserted here without Greek parallel. Critics identify the adverbial construction οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ as indicating the sequence of 2c and 2d following the *περί*-clause in 2b⁴. However, this solution does not explain precisely to what *περὶ ὅλου*

¹ A. PLUMMER, *The Epistles of S. John with Notes, Introduction, and Appendices* (CBSC; Cambridge 1886 and 1896) 89, interprets ἀλλὰ καὶ *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* as “but also for the sins of the whole world ... ‘the sins of’ is not repeated in the Greek and is not needed in English”. This interpretation disappears in Plummer’s 1916 edition. There A. PLUMMER, *The Epistles of S. John with Notes, Introduction, and Appendices* (CGTSC; Cambridge 1916 and 2010) 36, quotes Martin Luther as an innovation, saying: “So Luther: ‘sondern auch für der ganzen Welt.’ The supposed ellipse [τῆς or τῶν following *περί*] is neither necessary nor very probable: rather, as R.V., but also for the whole world ... and if it be said that ἱλασμός *implies* τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (which may be doubted), then let ‘propitiation’ imply ‘sins’ in the English. We are not justified in inserting the word”.

² A.T. ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, TN 1934) 441, notes: “The case of 1 Jo. 2,2 is simple where instead of *περὶ τῶν ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* (to be parallel with οὐ *περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων*) John has merely *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου*, a somewhat different conception”. Robertson regards this ellipsis as “lack of parallelism” or “heterogeneous structure” (p. 1199).

³ For a brief explanation of *περί* in 1 John 2,2, see J.H. THAYER, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. Coded with Strong’s Concordance Numbers (Peabody, MA 102012) 501. Grammarians indicate that *περί* with genitive case is often used in metaphorical senses. For example, C.F.D. MOULE, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge 21977) 62, comments on the use of *περί*: “with the genitive it is much commoner; but is only so used in metaphorical senses. These can be broadly comprehended within the sense *concerning*”. See also J.H. MOULTON and N. TURNER, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Syntax* (Edinburgh 1963) 269-270.

⁴ R.E. BROWN, *The Epistles of John* (AB 30; New York 1982) 222.

τοῦ κόσμου (in 2d) refers. The seemingly incidental nature of the ellipsis τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in 2d could shift the theological interpretation by calling into question the syntactic parallel found in 2b // 2c // 2d ⁵. This essay strives, in some small measure, toward the resolution of this syntactical conundrum by proposing a contextual reading of 2a // 2d. I pose a simple question: is it more probable to read 2d as syntactically following 2cb, or as theologically following 2a (given the use of the ἱλασμός-concept within 2,2; 4,10) ⁶? Let us begin by naming the syntactic issues of v. 2abcd ⁷.

I. Syntactic issues in interpreting περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου

Four important factors make the syntax of the clause in 2d problematic. First, the ellipsis of ἁμαρτία in 2d is unusual ⁸. One might argue from silence that ἁμαρτία is implicitly understood in the construction of 2c because the expression τῶν ἡμετέρων agrees in case, number, and gender with τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in 2b. Further, the possessive adjective ἡμετέρων in 2c adds to the parallel and agrees with the personal pronoun ἡμῶν (in 2b); the two agree in case, number, and gender. In this argument, the object “our sins” is implied. However, one cannot speak with the same degree of clarity regarding τοῦ κόσμου in 2d, which agrees in neither number nor gender (but only in the genitive) with ἡμετέρων in 2c. As a result, the absence of ἁμαρτία in 2d raises considerations regarding grammatical consistency and theological interpretation.

⁵ The first scholar who recognized an unusual ellipsis in τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in 2d seems to be B.F. WESTCOTT, *The Epistles of St John*. The Greek Text with Notes (London 1883) 45. See discussion below.

⁶ A context-critical analysis, supported by the grammar and syntax of verse 2, suggests that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου does not imply the “sin(s)” of the world *per se*. ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 618, suggests the three περί-clauses in 2bcd should be viewed as ablative cases in parallelism with καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν in 2a. However, Greek has no ablative case. See Graph 1 below for further illustration.

⁷ For convenience the text of 1 John 2,2 is offered here: (a) καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν (b) περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, (c) οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον (d) ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

⁸ T.C.G. THORNTON, “The Meaning of καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας in Romans 8,3”, *JTS* 22 (1971) 515-517, explains why difficulties exist in interpreting Paul’s use of this phrase in “and as a sacrifice for sin” or “and for sin”.

Second, to what exactly does περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d refer? Does it refer to the singular ἡ ἁμαρτία (“the collective or mutual sinfulness” of the whole world) or the plural αἱ ἁμαρτίαι (“the sins” of the world) as does τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in 2b? Further, the adjective ὅλος can imply both the singular “completeness” and the plural “all things altogether”⁹. It is possible that ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου could be rendered collectively or individually. It is surprising that John does not use a helping article and write, for example, περὶ (τῆς or τῶν) ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. An article (either τῆς or τῶν) after περί could have eliminated ambiguity by rendering the text “concerning the sin(s) of the whole world”? For this reason, Plummer questions the omission of such an article: “The supposed ellipse [either τῆς or τῶν] is neither necessary nor very probable”¹⁰. Elsewhere in 1 John we may see examples of explicit uses of the article in places where it is not necessary, as in the following: περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς (1,1); ἡ κοινωνία δὲ ἣ ἡμετέρα (1,3); ἡ ἐντολὴ ἣ παλαιά (2,7); and τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν (2,8)¹¹. The possibility also exists that John is not talking about the “sin(s)” of the world in 2d. He may instead be focusing on the means of forgiving sin (considering the ἰλασμός-expiation of 2a)¹². Moreover, considering John’s rather lengthy discussion about sin and its remission (1,6-10; 2,1-2; 2,3-6)¹³,

⁹ BDAG, s.v., ὅλος, offers three different definitions: (a) pertaining to being complete in extent (whole, entire, and complete); (b) pertaining to a degree of completeness (wholly and completely); and (c) everything that exists (all things).

¹⁰ Unless otherwise noted hereafter PLUMMER, *Epistles of John*, 36.

¹¹ See also the following examples: ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω τοῦ Ἰωάννου (John 5,36); ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτιῶν θυσίας ἀναφέρειν ἔπειτα τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ (Heb 7,27); and οὐ χωρὶς αἵματος, ὃ προσφέρει ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων (Heb 9,7). WESTCOTT, *Epistles of John*, 45, gives the following example from Philo (*de Monarch* ii.6): “ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεὺς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φύσεως γῆς”. (I quote Westcott obliquely without having found the Philo text to which he refers). In all cases, therefore, the articles τοῦ (John 5,36) and τῶν (Heb 7,27; 9,7; and in Philo) are necessary for parallel expression.

¹² The possibility exists because, in 1 John 5,16-19, John discusses the sins of the world and of everyone living in the world. However, the absence of ἁμαρτία or ἁμαρτίαι in this context raises questions. See below.

¹³ 1 John often speaks of sin in both plural and singular forms. For example, in the case of πάσης ἁμαρτίας (1,7); ἁμαρτίαν (1,8); and τὰς ἁμαρτίας (1,9 [2x]), the author is explicit in using either a verb or a noun to speak of “sin”.

his lack of clarity is puzzling with regard to the “implied” sin-object in *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου*. The absence of *τῆς* or *τῶν* makes the syntax of the prepositional phrase ambiguous¹⁴.

Third, in light of the Johannine view of human sins, the use of *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* does not seem congruent with other comments (1,5-10; 2,3-6). As it stands in the midst of the discussion on community sin, the purpose of *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* is unclear. The personal pronoun “we” occurs in every verse in 1,1-10 and 2,3-6¹⁵. R. Bultmann formulates his concern in the following way:

καὶ αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν. Es ist der Gedanke, daß Jesus Christus durch seinen Tod (sein Blut) die Sünden gesühnt hat, ebenso wie es in der Interpolation 1,7b ausgesprochen war, und wie es 4,10 wiederkehren wird. Dieser Gedanke [in Vers 2] stimmt aber nicht zu V. 1, in dem die Hoffnung auf die Sündenvergebung dadurch begründet ist, daß Jesus Christus unser Fürsprecher (Anwalt) bei Gott ist¹⁶.

Bultmann questions the consistency of thought between 2,1-2 and 1,5-2,6. 1 John 1,7 speaks exclusively of “our sins”, and uses the expression *καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας*. The personal pronoun *ἡμᾶς* implies the Johannine community. In 2,1 he explicitly addresses the community members using *τεκνία μου*¹⁷. Later, in 4,10, John uses a similar expression (*ἰλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*) for “our sins”. However, he does not repeat *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* in 4,10. For this reason R.E. Brown observes: “If there is a grammatical irregularity in these two *peri* phrases of 2,2[cd], it is that the object of the first is ‘our sins’, while the object of the second is ‘the whole world’ – a seeming mixture of things and people”¹⁸.

¹⁴ ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 441, 1199. See n. 2.

¹⁵ See J. PAINTER, *1, 2, and 3 John* (SP 18; Collegeville, MN 2002) 44-51, 119-140; A. VON HARNACK, “Das ‘Wir’ in den johanneischen Schriften”, *SPAW.PH* (Berlin 1923) 96-113; and P. PERKINS, “Koinônia in 1 John 1,3-7: The Social Context of Division in the Johannine Letters”, *CBQ* 45 (1983) 631-641.

¹⁶ R. BULTMANN, *Die Drei Johannesbriefe* (KEK 14; Göttingen 1967) 29.

¹⁷ BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 214, concludes that “in the Epistles *teknōn* is used in the plural for the children of God or the church, while *teknion* and *paidion* are used as direct address for the readers who are clearly Christians of the author’s own community”.

¹⁸ BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 222.

Fourth, this irregularity has found its way into various translations. The words “the sins” are inserted in 2d. For example, the NIV (1984) translates “and not only for ours but also for the sins of the whole world”, while the NAS (1977) renders the passage as “and not for ours only, but also for those of the whole world”. Similar insertions occur in German and French translations¹⁹. For instance, the EIN (1980) renders “aber nicht nur für unsere Sünden, sondern auch für die der ganzen Welt”, while even more radical are the LUO (1912) and LUT (1984) which translate “nicht allein aber für die unseren sondern auch für die der ganzen Welt”. The insertion of “the sin(s)” or “those” has not always met universal consent. The American Standard Version (1901) sought to remain close to the Greek text in rendering 2cd as “and not for ours only, but also for the whole world”²⁰, while two German versions, the ELO (1905) and ELB (1993), translate the same text as “nicht allein aber für die unseren, sondern auch für die ganze Welt”. Scholars have also criticized the addition of “the sin(s)” in 2d. B.F. Westcott argues that “[t]he supposition that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου is an elliptical expression for περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου is not justified by usage, and weakens the force of the passage”²¹. Plummer advocates consistency in the interpretation of 2d by not inserting “the sin(s)”²².

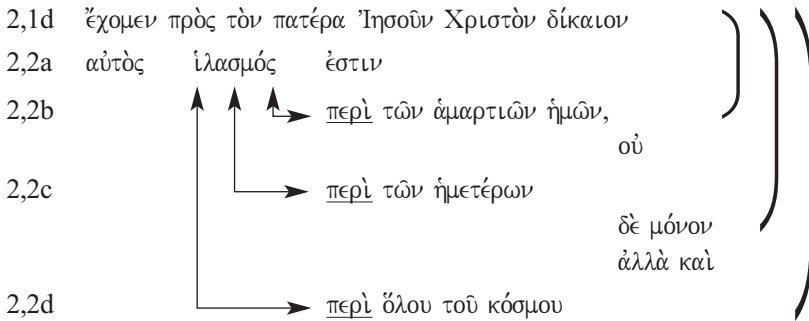
These four syntactic considerations raise the following question: how far back, in the context of 1 John 2,1-2, should one interpret κόσμος as the object of περί? This question suggests two possibilities: (a) should we interpret περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου parallel to περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν in 2b (cf. 2c), or (b) should we treat περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου as an extension and effect of ἰλασμός in 2a? A presentation of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου can be displayed in the following diagram:

¹⁹ Other English versions include the KJV (1611), DAR (1899), NAB, NAU (1995), NIB, RSV (1952), and NRSV (1989). French translations include the BJ (Bible de Jérusalem), LSG (1910), NEG (1979), and BFC (1997).

²⁰ Similar literal translations are provided by the DBY (1884/1890), BBE (1949/1964), and NKJ (1982). However, the WEB (1833) places the word “sins” in brackets (“and not for ours only, but also for {the sins of} the whole world”).

²¹ WESTCOTT, *Epistles of John*, 45. In contrast, I.H. MARSHALL, *The Epistles of John* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI 1978) 119, n. 31, criticizes Westcott as “over-subtle” in translating “but for the whole world” without supplying the word “the sins”. I challenge this criticism. The insertion “the sins” or “those” in some modern translations of the Greek does not always do justice to what can appear to be the real intention of the author.

²² PLUMMER, *Epistles of John*, 36. See also n. 1.



The emphasis of the first question (a) lies in the Johannine concept of sin (τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν) in 2b; the impetus of the second question (b) is placed on the salvific work of Jesus as ἰλασμός in bearing 2a with regard to the use of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d²³.

II. Contemporary interpretations of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου

The syntactic position of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου has been commonly held as grammatically following the περί-clause in 2b. Often “the sins” is construed as belonging to or having to do with the “whole” world. Apart from Westcott and Plummer, no scholars have questioned the exact connotation implied in the object of the περί-clause in 2d²⁴. Perhaps influenced by their reading of the three περί-clauses in 2,2bcd, scholars interpret περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου as a sequence of περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν²⁵. Of particular importance in

²³ For discussion on the background and extra-biblical usages of κόσμος, see H. SASSE, “κοσμέω, κόσμος, κόσμιος, κοσμικός”, *ThWNT* 3 (Stuttgart 1938) 867-898, esp. 868-882. Also C. SPICQ, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament* (Peabody, MA³2008) s.v. κοσμέω, 330-335.

²⁴ BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 222, is the only scholar after Westcott and Plummer who points out some irregularity in the περί-clause of 2d. In his overall interpretation of 1 John 2,1-2, however, Brown shares a common belief in seeing περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου as “the sins” of the world.

²⁵ U.C. VON WAHLDE, *The Gospel and Letters of John*. Commentary on the Three Johannine Letters (ECC 3; Grand Rapids, MI 2010) 45, inserts word(s) that are not in John’s text, saying: “the author exhorts his readers not to sin, but if they do Jesus is a Paraclete and an atonement for their sin and that of the entire world”. The list of scholars of similar view is long. Here are cited only a few. W. VOGLER, *Die Briefe des Johannes* (THNT 17; Leipzig 1993) 68-69; and PAINTER, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 158-159.

this regard is the inventory of N.H. Cassem²⁶, who studies the Johannine use of κόσμος. As the title of his article indicates, Cassem suggests implications in light of the limited Johannine use of κόσμος. “Although only occurring twice in Johannine literature, the phrase ὅλος ὁ κόσμος casts the world in [a] negative light. The references are to ‘the sins of the whole world’ (1 John 2,2) and to the gloomy declaration ‘the world is in the power of the evil one’ (1 John 5,19)”²⁷. Arguing in this regard, Cassem reads περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου as having everything to do with the “sins” of the world; thus he holds that the Johannine cosmic attitude is entirely negative. Cassem further notes that the author uses κόσμος in a hostile sense in the epistle²⁸.

Cassem inserts “the sins” into the Greek text without qualification. In this instance Cassem is no exception. His interpretation of 2d as “in negative light” and “more ambivalent or hostile” seems to be solely based on the insertion “the sins”. However the Greek of 2d does not warrant a reference to ἁμαρτία “sin(s)” in a singular or plural, individual or collective, sense. To make such a parallel regarding “the sin(s)” of the world the article τῆς or τῶν as a necessary grammatical component must follow περί and precede ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου²⁹.

A good example occurs in 1 John 3,12. The author compares the evil deeds of Cain and those righteous deeds of his brother Abel: ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἦν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκαια. Here the second τὰ is explicitly used to make a parallel expression with τὰ ἔργα in the sentence³⁰. In the absence of the article in 2d,

²⁶ N.H. CASSEM, “A Grammatical and Contextual Inventory of the Use of *kósmos* in the Johannine Corpus with Some Implications for a Johannine Cosmic Theology”, *NTS* 19 (1972-1973) 81-91. For different views on the summary of the Johannine use of κόσμος, see F.-M. BRAUN, “Le péché du monde selon saint Jean”, *RevThom* 65 (1965) 181-201; R.E. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John I-XII* (AB 29; New York 1966) 508-510.

²⁷ CASSEM, “Grammatical and Contextual Inventory”, 85.

²⁸ Ibid., 89. See also the summary in Table 4 on page 88 in Cassem’s article.

²⁹ ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 441, 1199. See n. 2. Then 1 John 2,2d would have read: περὶ τῆς [or τῶν] ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. Here I presume that περί takes the genitive case as the phrase ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου implies. In Attic Greek περί can take genitive, dative, or accusative. But its use with the dative seems to have waned in NT Greek. Cf. M.J. HARRIS, *Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament. An Essential Reference Resource for Exegesis* (Grand Rapids, MI 2012) 179-180; and BDAG, 797-798, s.v., περί.

³⁰ Cf. also the following: γράφω ὑμῖν, πατέρες, ὅτι ἐγνώκατε τὸν ἀπ’

scholars have mistakenly interpreted *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* as implying the sins of the whole world ³¹. Since Westcott and Plummer this interpretation has been questioned. C.G. Kruse raises doubts about the prepositional phrase in 2d, arguing that the author's meaning is unclear in the statement that Jesus Christ is the atoning sacrifice "for the sins of the whole world" ³². However, Kruse still considers that 2d has to do with "the sins" of the world. More proper is the formulation by W. De Boor. If the death of Jesus Christ serves as the "sin-expiation" (*ἱλασμός*) concerning not only our wrongdoing but also that of the whole world, then it is not "the sins" of the world as such that God's sin-forgiveness through Jesus Christ brings to the fore ³³. Rather, the focus is on God's salvific plan accomplished through the effective work of Jesus (*ἱλασμός*) that the world and those sinners living within it may receive forgiveness.

Recently scholars tend to argue that the Johannine view of universal expiation seems to dominate the Christian picture of Christ's salvific and effective work implied in *ἱλασμός*. To this end W. Thüsing notes that the image of Christ cannot be construed as the sin-expiation only for his own followers; rather the salvific work of Jesus is fundamentally universal. He is sent into the world to correct the darkness of falsehood, the falsehood of those opposed to God's love ³⁴. The fundamental and theological claim about universalism in 1 John is grounded in the effective work of Christ as the means of expiation (*ἱλασμός*), both for the Johannine Christian(s) as well as the entire world. The central theme of *ἱλασμός* is not fixed on the sins, but on the expiation of sins. The focus on the effective work of Christ (*ἱλασμός*) is perhaps the reason why the author deliberately left out the article *τῶν* in 2d. For this reason G. Strecker argues that the sin-expiation is never restricted solely to the Johannine community, but

ἀρχῆς (1 John 2,13.14); μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κόσμον μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (1 John 2,15); ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (1 John 2,16); τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου (1 John 4,3); ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (1 John 4,4); οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν (1 John 5,8); see also n. 12 for cited examples in John 5,36; Heb 7,27; 9,7.

³¹ See BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 224; D.L. AKIN, *1, 2, 3 John* (NAC 38; Nashville, TN 2001) 84.

³² C.G. KRUSE, *The Letters of John* (PNTC; Grand Rapids, MI 2000) 74.

³³ W. DE BOOR, *Die Briefe des Johannes* (WSB; Berlin 1978) 44.

³⁴ W. THÜSING, *Die Johannesbriefe* (GS 22; Leipzig 1970) 52.

has a universal outlook. The salvific work of Jesus is directed to the whole world, that is, περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου ³⁵.

This being said, it is necessary to address the further question of whether περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου has anything to do with “the sins” of the world. Against this misconception we now turn to the context-based analysis of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

III. Context-critical analysis of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου

In the absence of τῆς or τῶν in 2d, a reinterpretation of the entire verse is necessary. When we examine carefully the structure of v. 2, the syntax of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου is not so evident as it is for those who have taken for granted that the phrase has to do with “sin(s)”. In fact, a link with τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (“our sins”) in 2b seems forced and unconvincing. It is necessary, rather, to look beyond the parallel construction οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ in 2cd and connect 2d with the main clause in 2a (Graph 1). In so doing, we may discern five issues which demonstrate that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d is linked syntactically and theologically with αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστιν in 2a. We first examine whether ὁ κόσμος implies αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. We next look at the reading of κόσμος with prepositions. We then examine the use of περί in 1 John. We further analyze the meaning of ὅλος in 1 John. Lastly we link the reading περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d with ἰλασμός in 2a. In what follows we will consider these issues.

IV. Can ὁ κόσμος imply αἱ ἁμαρτίαι?

Since the compelling issue here is both the insertion and interpretation of “the sins” in some translations and commentaries, we must examine the question of whether John means or even implies the concept of “sins” in 2d. We are thus testing a specific usage of κόσμος to see if it implies or is directly related to ἁμαρτία in 1 John. We will only consider the occurrences of κόσμος in 1 John. Not considered is the usage of κόσμος in other Johannine writings or the rest of the NT (indeed, studies have been done in this regard) ³⁶.

³⁵ G. STRECKER, *Die Johannesbriefe* (KEK 14; Göttingen 1989) 94.

³⁶ CASSEM, “Grammatical and Contextual Inventory”, 81-91; BRAUN, “Le

The objective of these statistics is to see whether in 1 John κόσμος ever occurs in parallel with, or as an implication of ἁμαρτία.

The following references are to be studied in parallel and in sequence. First, we list the occurrences of κόσμος: 2,2d.15a.15b.15c.16a.16c.17; 3,1.13.17; 4,1.3.4.5a.5b.5c.9.14.17; 5,4a.4b.5.19, with a total of 23 times ³⁷. Second, we register the instances of ἁμαρτία: 1,7.8.9a.9c; 2,2.12; 3,4a.4b.5a.5b; 3,8.9; 4,10; 5,16a.16b.17a.17b, with a total of 17 times ³⁸. Beside these, Strecker notes two places where the author uses κόσμος to express a synonymous idea with or relating to ἁμαρτία ³⁹: περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου (2,2d) // οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ ποινηρῷ κεῖται (5,19).

In the NT κόσμος occurs 105 times; 78 of these appear in the Fourth Gospel, and 24 times in the Johannine epistles (23x in 1 John and 1x in 2 John). According to Cassem's tabulation, "the frequency of use [in the Johannine literature], therefore, is two and one half times that of the entire remainder of the NT taken together. The word appears in the Fourth Gospel almost six times more frequently than it does in the Synoptics" ⁴⁰. Our references above thus help point out several other factors. First, in none of the appearances of κόσμος in 1 John does the (immediate) context imply the

péché du monde selon saint Jean", 181-201; and BROWN, *Gospel according John*, I, 508-510.

³⁷ According to CASSEM, "Grammatical and Contextual Inventory", 82, references with underlined type indicate that "the form ὁ κόσμος appears absolutely, i.e., unmodified". I do question the analysis regarding 1 John 2,2, in which Cassem classifies it as being used absolutely. In the inventory offered by Cassem, the author seems to overlook the preposition περὶ which precedes τοῦ κόσμου. Cassem gives no clear criteria for why he considers certain cases with κόσμος as being used absolutely or non-absolutely. E. MALATESTA, *Interiority and Covenant*. A Study of *einai en* and *menein en* in the First Letter of Saint John (AnBib 69; Rome 1978) 27, holds that a construction involving a noun is used absolutely when the noun is not accompanied by a preposition and not-absolutely when it is preceded by a preposition. According to Malatesta, for instance, the noun ἀγγελία is used absolutely in ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ ἀγγελία in 1 John 1,5a. Thus, if my analysis of Cassem's criteria for absolute use of κόσμος is correct, the phrase περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου is not used absolutely, but is modified by the περὶ-clause.

³⁸ Underline type references indicate that ἁμαρτία is used in the absolute sense or as a nominative predicate.

³⁹ See STRECKER, *Johannesbriefe*, 94, for further explanation on this point.

⁴⁰ CASSEM, "Grammatical and Contextual Inventory", 81.

Johannine attitude toward or definition of sins or sinfulness. The only place is verse 2b where the περί-clause implies “our sins”. Yet this is not readily linked with κόσμος; and it is difficult to make a syntactic reference to “the sins” in περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d because of the absence of τῶν⁴¹. At best περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου should be rendered as “concerning the whole world”.

Secondly, when we examine the occurrences of ἁμαρτία in 1 John (reference above), the result is striking. Wherever ἁμαρτία occurs, absolutely or in reference to other verbs, it is never employed with an implication or reference to κόσμος. This seems to be in direct contrast to John 1,29 (cf. 16,8), in which John the Baptist proclaims that Jesus is the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world. However, two important matters are to be kept in mind here. On the one hand, we are dealing with issues directly related to 2d⁴². On the other, in a recent study on John 1,29 (cf. 1,35-36), R. Bieringer offers important observations, namely: (1) “ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ [ist] eine Parallele von ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ”; and (2) “Der Ausdruck ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ bezieht sich nicht unmittelbar auf den Tod Jesu”⁴³.

These observations are important for several reasons: (a) the context of John 1,29 does not speak of the death of Jesus; (b) the sentence, “the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world (cf. John 1,29)”, is not necessarily identical with the statement that Jesus Christ the Paraclete (1 John 2,1d) is the expiation (ἱλασμός;

⁴¹ Cf. WESTCOTT, *Epistles of John*, 45; PLUMMER, *Epistles of John*, 36; and ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 441, 1199. See n. 2. In addition, John elsewhere in his Epistle uses similar expressions with the article to make a clear parallel between two nouns (i.e., 3,12; cf. 2,13.14.15.16; 4,2.3.4; 5,8; John 5,36; Heb 7,27; 9,7).

⁴² While 1 John and the Fourth Gospel arguably belong to the same literary genre, there is every reason to allow for sharp differences and distinctions. See R.E. BROWN, “The Relationship to the Fourth Gospel Shared by the Author of 1 John and by His Opponents”, *Text and Interpretation*. Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black (Cambridge 1979) 57-68; U.C. VON WAHLDE, *The Johannine Commandments*. 1 John and the Struggle for the Johannine Tradition (New York 1990).

⁴³ R. BIERINGER, “Das Lamm Gottes, das die Sünde der Welt hinwegnimmt (Joh 1,29): Eine Kontextorientierte und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung auf dem Hintergrund der Passatradition als Deutung des Todes Jesu im Johannesevangelium”, *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel* (ed. G. VAN BELLE) (BETL 200; Leuven 2007) 199-232, esp. 230-232.

cf. 1 John 2,2a) concerning the whole world (1 John 2,2d); and (c) “the sins of the world” in John 1,29 cannot be equated with “concerning the whole world” in 1 John 2,2d. The Johannine Lamb of God, ὁ ἀΐρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, is not in direct contrast to all the occurrences of ἁμαρτία in 1 John. In the Fourth Gospel, John does not employ “the Lamb of God” to imply the death of Jesus.

In 1 John the use of ἁμαρτία is strikingly different. 1 John 1,5–2,2 makes clear references to the death of Jesus (τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀποτοῦ in 1,7) and to the expiation of sins (ἱλασμός in 2,2) ⁴⁴. But the letter does not speak of Jesus’ death with regard to “the sins” of the world. It is therefore less plausible that John equates the concept of ἁμαρτία with his use of κόσμος.

Thirdly, according to the above reference, κόσμος is not used anywhere in 1 John in the “hostile sense” held by Cassem ⁴⁵. Similarly, one may stress the relationship between the use of κόσμος and πονηρός, -ά, -όν in 1 John 5,19. Strecker observes that 1 John and the Gospel have the same concern for the tension between God’s love for the world through the Son and the negative inclination of the world. According to 1 John, the false teachers are from the world and the world listens to them (4,5); the true believers are from God, and they are separate from the false teachers (5,4; cf. 3 John 11). In this respect there are some in the world who are prone to evil and thus lie in the grip of falsehood (5,19) ⁴⁶. If Strecker’s interpretation is correct, the Johannine use of πονηρά here in 5,19 really means that “some” people, so long as they are in the world, are under the influence of falsehood and in danger of being controlled by their own evilness. In this sense, the world (κόσμος) can hardly be interpreted in a “hostile sense”. J. Painter argues that in general one can say that the Johannine use of κόσμος shows a diversity of attitudes to the world ⁴⁷.

If Brown is right in saying that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου means “a seeming mixture of things and people” ⁴⁸, we still have to modify his overall argument regarding the universal provision. Because of

⁴⁴ See the discussion in J.T. DO, “Jesus’ Death as *Hilasmus* According to 1 John”, *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel* (ed. G. VAN BELLE) (BETL 200; Leuven 2007) 537–565.

⁴⁵ CASSEM, “Grammatical and Contextual Inventory”, 85.

⁴⁶ STRECKER, *Johannesbriefe*, 94.

⁴⁷ PAINTER, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 159.

⁴⁸ BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 222.

the absence of τῆς or τῶν, περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου is best rendered literally as “concerning the whole world”. Therefore, we can agree with Brown’s conclusion that 1 John 2,2 leans towards the sin-expiation concerning the world and speaks as such in its broadest extension⁴⁹. Here in 2d the object of περὶ is not “the sin” of the world. We should also take into consideration ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται in 5,19 and ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου in 4,14 (cf. 4,9; John 3,16-17)⁵⁰. These texts give the impression that the object of περὶ in 2d points to a need for the sin-forgiving “concerning” the world, rather than “the sins” of the world⁵¹.

In short, it is syntactically possible to take περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d as a sequence of περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν in 2b or περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων in 2c. Moreover, it is plausible to regard περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου as modifying the main clause αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν in 2a (Graph 1). This suggestion invites us to take a closer look at the usage of κόσμος with prepositions in 1 John.

V. Readings of κόσμος with prepositions

The word κόσμος in 2d does not appear absolutely⁵². It is modified by περὶ⁵³ and ὅλος. Thus, it is necessary to examine how in 1 John κόσμος is used with prepositions. Our task is to observe the meaning or thought pattern where κόσμος occurs with prepositions.

According to the aforementioned uses of κόσμος in 1 John, we notice four prepositions modifying κόσμος, with varying connotations. First, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ occurs in 2,15b (negative); 2,16a (negative); 4,3 (negative); 4,4 (negative); and 4,17 (neutral). Second, ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου is used in 2,16b (negative); 4,5a (neutral); and 4,5b (neutral). Third, εἰς τὸν κόσμον is employed in 4,1 (negative); and 4,9 (positive). Finally, περὶ [ὅλου] τοῦ κόσμου is found in 2,2 (positive).

⁴⁹ Ibid., 124.

⁵⁰ STRECKER, *Johannesbriefe*, 94, refers to John 1,29. Cf. BIERINGER, “Lamm Gottes”, 199-232.

⁵¹ In 1 John κόσμος appears for the first time in 2,2d. So without clear reference to what John says about the world, it is not easy to say simply that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου refers to “the sins” of the world.

⁵² For examples and descriptions of how 1 John uses nouns absolutely see MALATESTA, *Interiority and Covenant*, 27-32.

⁵³ See the chapter on περὶ in MURRAY, *Prepositions and Theology*, 179-183.

Several points should be noted here. First, the occurrence of κόσμος with prepositions in 1 John (only 11 times) hardly provides any specific pattern of thought. A clear example is εἰς in 4,1 and 4,9: 4,1 has a negative connotation regarding false prophets, while the same preposition in 4,9 indicates the divine love by which God sent his only Son into the world. It is evident that a preposition does not carry a negative or positive connotation by itself ⁵⁴.

Second, there is a tendency to combine the usage of ἐν with that of εἰς in the NT. Bieringer points out that in Koine Greek the distinction between ἐν and εἰς has already disappeared, and that εἰς has taken over more and more the meaning of ἐν. This is further reflected by the fact that in modern Greek ἐν has entirely disappeared ⁵⁵. Bieringer's overall observation views εἰς as indicating a locative value ⁵⁶. In 1 John, however, the uses of ἐν or εἰς modifying κόσμος seem to distinguish clearly between the locative value of ἐν and the directional aspect of εἰς ⁵⁷. Moreover, the Johannine authors often tend to use εἰς as a technical term. In 1 John there are only two occasions where κόσμος is used with εἰς. There is a clear contrast in the expression εἰς τὸν κόσμον "into the world" in 4,1 and 4,9. The former denotes the false prophets who have come out (or "appeared") in the world, while the latter specifically means the incarnation of the Son of God who has come into the world ⁵⁸.

In short, it seems difficult to find a specific pattern of thought for the use of κόσμος with any preposition. The meanings vary based on specific contexts, to which we now turn.

⁵⁴ Cf. MOULE, *Idiom-Book*, 62-63; and MOULTON – TURNER, *Syntax*, 269-270.

⁵⁵ BIERINGER, "Text-Critical Problems of John 16,13", 183. Cf. M. ZERWICK, *Biblical Greek* (SPIB 114; Rome ⁸2005) §§ 99-111.

⁵⁶ F. BLASS and A. DEBRUNNER, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, IL 1961) §§ 205, 218, esp. §205, points out that "εἰς has absorbed the related preposition ἐν (in conjunction with the disappearance of the dative)".

⁵⁷ BLASS - DEBRUNNER, *Greek Grammar*, §205, state: "The Epistles and, still more surprisingly, Rev exhibit a correct differentiation between εἰς and ἐν in the local sense".

⁵⁸ VON WAHLDE, *Gospel and Letters of John*, III,148-149; III.157.

VI. Uses of περί in 1 John

Regarding περί, the phrase περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d hardly escapes the reader's attention. As Graph 1 suggests, two interpretations for the περί-clauses are possible. First, 2d is meant to follow successively 2b in the sense of the "sins" of the world as is implied in περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν⁵⁹. We have argued that this is not the most plausible interpretation because of the absence of τῆς or τῶν before ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. Second, 2d is meant to modify αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν in 2a. In this way, 2b, 2c, and 2d are construed as three distinct, though not separate, prepositional phrases modifying αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν in 2a. Thus it seems clear that the meaning of περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου is clearly connected with the main clause in 2a, and not with 2b. What connects 2b, 2c, and 2d syntactically is αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν.

As a preposition, περί can take the genitive, dative, or accusative⁶⁰. Indeed περί is one of the few prepositions in Greek (others are, e.g., μετά and ὑπέρ) that can be followed by all three grammatical cases. In the NT, F. Blass and A. Debrunner note that the dative was in the process of waning with all prepositions (μετά, περί, ὑπό, and ἀνά), except ἐν⁶¹. This is why in the NT περί occurs with only two cases, namely genitive or accusative⁶². BDAG gives two definitions of περί⁶³: (a) with genitive περί denotes the object or person to which (whom) an activity refers or relates, namely, "concerning;" and (b) with accusative it refers to a position, namely, "about". In

⁵⁹ HARRIS, *Prepositions and Theology*, 182, notes: "The singular περὶ ἁμαρτίας occurs nine times and the plural περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν five times in the NT. There is no material difference between the singular and plural since περὶ ἁμαρτίας may mean 'with respect to sins' (as a genetic singular)".

⁶⁰ Cf. LIDDELL and SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1996) s.v., περί, 545-546. HARRIS, *Prepositions and Theology*, 179, ranks περί tenth in frequency among NT "proper" prepositions.

⁶¹ BLASS - DEBRUNNER, *Greek Grammar*, § 203.

⁶² F.W. MOULTON and A.S. GEDEN, *A Concordance to the Greek New Testament According to the Texts of Westcott, Hort, Tischendorf, and the English Revisers* (Edinburgh 1993) 791-794, show about 333 occurrences of περί in the NT for both genitive and accusative uses. The same statistics are shown in D.B. WALLACE, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics. An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament with Scripture, Subject, and Greek Word Indexes* (Grand Rapids, MI 1996) 357.

⁶³ BDAG, s.v., περί, 797-798.

1 John 2,2d, περί is followed by the genitive ⁶⁴, so we can agree with BDAG that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d refers back to Jesus in αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστιν in 2a.

It is interesting to note that περί, while occurring elsewhere in the NT with the genitive and accusative, appears only with the genitive in 1 John. Consult the following occurrences (10x total): 1,1; 2,2b.2c.2d.26.27; 4,10; 5,9.10.16.

In 1 John, when περί is used with an abstract noun (2,2bd; 4,10) or proper noun (5,9.10), it is accompanied by an article. 1 John 3,12 explicitly uses the article: τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ποιηρὰ ἦν τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δίκαια. Indeed, the various uses of περί show that the author could have expressed the idea “the sins” of the world if he had so intended (cf. John 16,8-9). Then, verse 2d would have been περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου or περὶ τῶν ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου ⁶⁵. In the absence of τῶν or ἁμαρτία, the phrase περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου places no stress on “the sins” of the world. The emphasis is rather on Jesus’ death as the expiation “concerning” the whole world. The reference to “sins” might have been presupposed in 2c, but it is not the focus of 2d. Here περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d will be better interpreted if it is linked with αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστιν in 2a.

VII. The meaning of ὅλος in 1 John

In 1 John the adjective ὅλος, -η, -ον occurs only twice in 2,2 and 5,19. In both cases ὅλος modifies κόσμος. It is helpful to put the two occurrences in perspective:

2,2 αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν,
οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου
5,19 οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ ποιηρῷ
κεῖται

For Cassem both περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2,2d and ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ ποιηρῷ κεῖται in 5,19 imply the “sins” of the world ⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ The genitive use of περί is the most common in the NT. Cf. MOULE, *Idiom-Book*, 62-63; and MOULTON – TURNER, *Syntax*, 269-270.

⁶⁵ HARRIS, *Prepositions and Theology*, 182-183.

⁶⁶ CASSEM, “Grammatical and Contextual Inventory”, 85. Similarly,

This interpretation is inadequate unless 2d is interpreted against 2a, because ἁμαρτία (“sins”) is never used with κόσμος in 1 John (cf. aforementioned references). Scholars have taken a literal reading and constructive approach to 1 John 5,19. For instance Bultmann reads 1 John 5,19 as follows: “die Welt liegt im Machtbereich des Satan, ob also ἐν τῷ ποινηρῷ wie in 5,18 maskulin gemeint ist, oder ob es neutral verstanden ist, so daß der Sinn wäre: die Welt liegt im argen”⁶⁷. Painter reads 5,19 as: “and the whole world lies in [the power of] the Evil One”⁶⁸. Bultmann and Painter seem to echo Brown’s point that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου means “a seeming mixture of things and people”⁶⁹. Here περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου can be rendered as the entire created world of God.

Since ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2,2d and ὁ κόσμος ὅλος in 5,19 occur only twice in 1 John⁷⁰, John seems to make a connection regarding his understanding of κόσμος. It is not “the sins” implied in ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. Rather ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d should be understood as based on the use of ἰλασμός in 2a. Put differently, Jesus as the ἰλασμός is the sin-expiation concerning the whole world (Graph 1). In this sense, the sentence οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν in 5,19a seems to make clear the following: those who are from God are those who believe and belong to God, namely, the (Johannine) Christians who are not under the power of evil. In addition, the conjunction καί between 5,19a and 5,19b, taken as “but” or in the sense of opposing, can rightly be understood as marking a difference between those living in the world: those who believe in God, and

J.R.W. STOTT, *The Epistles of John*. An Introduction and Commentary (London 1960) 194, explicitly draws a parallel between 2,2d and 5,19 in the following terms: “We need to remember, however, that although the whole world lies in the power of the evil one, it is for the sins of the whole world”.

⁶⁷ BULTMANN, *Drei Johannesbriefe*, 92. Cf. also R. SCHNACKENBURG, *Die Johannesbriefe* (HThKNT 13; Freiburg² 1963) 288-289.

⁶⁸ PAINTER, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 320.

⁶⁹ BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 222, 622-623.

⁷⁰ WESTCOTT, *Epistles of John*, 194-195, and BROOKE, *Johannine Epistles*, 150-151, have attempted to solve the seeming contradiction in the two phrases ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2,2d and ὁ κόσμος ὅλος in 5,15. They propose “the whole world” for 2,2d and “the world as a whole” for 5,19. As BROWN, *Epistles of John*, 623, points out, the grammatical base is too fragile to try to solve such a “seeming” contradiction. In addition, the attributive positions of these two phrases make no grammatical difference.

those who do not. In this respect, Strecker offers a helpful observation. There exists a separation between God and the world whose alternative power is the devil. In this tension, the faithful are rooted in God whereas the world is left to the power of evil. It is important for the believer to know this separation between God and the evil power of the world. However, it would be misleading to conceive this expression as an arrogant self-awareness only for the Christian community. The salvific work of the Christ is not exclusively for the church (ἐκκλησία), but is ordered universally toward the whole world (περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου; cf. 2,2; 4,14) ⁷¹.

In this way, the expression περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d may be taken syntactically as a parallel to περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν in 2b and to περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων in 2c. But the main connection for 2d is 2a, allowing ἰλασμός to be the syntactic link with the triple περί in 2b // 2c // 2d. This proposed syntax implies a stronger theological interpretation of 2d in view of the entire verse 2abcd. This demands a closer look at the meaning of ἰλασμός in 2a.

VIII. Reading περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d with ἰλασμός in 2a (cf. 4,10)

Graph 1 indicates that the noun ἰλασμός in 2a stands at the crux of our understanding of the triple περί-clauses. This very word ἰλασμός occurs only in 1 John 2,2; 4,10 and is used by no other NT author ⁷². Hence, the meaning of ἰλασμός in this context is vital. In 2,2 the author uses ἰλασμός to speak of Jesus' death as a means to remove sins (περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν in 2b). In 4,10 he employs ἰλασμός to explain how God loves humanity by sending his Son into the world concerning our sins (ἰλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν).

There has been continuing debate over the meaning of the ἱλάσκομαι word-group, both in the LXX as well as the NT. Two theological positions are often held: (a) the propitiatory sense of the word, and (b) the predominantly expiatory connotation.

⁷¹ STRECKER, *Johannesbriefe*, 306.

⁷² The ἱλάσκομαι word-group appears eight times in the NT (Matt 16,22; Luke 18,13; Rom 3,25; 1 John 2,2; 4,10; Heb 2,17; 8,12; 9,5). Only four, however, arguably imply either expiation (of human sins) or propitiation (of God's wrath), namely, 1 John 2,2; 4,10, Rom 3,25, and Heb 2,17.

A number of scholars led by L. Morris are of the opinion that the ἱλάσκομαι word-group is often used to mean propitiation⁷³. They believe that the LXX constantly uses this word-group coupled with a sense of human sinfulness, and that the inevitable consequence of sin is the wrath of God. To be reconciled with God is to regain his favor. A propitious act or human effort through propitiation has to take place. The entire enterprise of regaining reconciliation with God lies in the appeasement of God's wrath. For instance, D. Büchner argues that the meaning of the ἱλάσκομαι word-group for the cultic portions of the Pentateuch should be "appease" or "propitiate". However, it is in no way certain that in the LXX secular and religious uses are to be distinguished, or that a dual meaning of "appease" as well as "cleanse" occurs⁷⁴.

Leading the opposite group is C.H. Dodd who, in his study of the translations of the word in the LXX, argues for the English rendering of expiation rather than propitiation⁷⁵. Sin is the cause of the subsequent conciliation that must take place, that is, to un-sin, to cleanse from defilement, or to expiate. Dodd argues that the stock

⁷³ L. MORRIS, "The Use of ἱλάσκεσθαι etc. in Biblical Greek", *ExpT* 62 (1951) 227-233; IDEM, "The Wrath of God", *ExpT* 63 (1951-52) 142-145; IDEM, "The Biblical Use of the Term 'Blood'", *JTS* 53 (1952) 216-227; IDEM, "The Meaning of ἱλαστήριον in Romans 3,25", *NTS* 2 (1955-56) 33-43; IDEM, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (Grand Rapids, MI 1983), 144-213; R.R. NICOLE, "C.H. Dodd and the Doctrine of Propitiation", *WTJ* 17 (1955) 352-360; D. HILL, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*. Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms (SNTSMS 5; Cambridge 1967) 23-48; T.C.G. THORNTON, "Propitiation or Expiation? ἱλαστήριον and ἱλασμός in Romans and 1 John", *ExpT* 80 (1968-69) 53-55; and D. BÜCHNER, "ἐξιλάσασθαι: Appeasing God in the Septuagint Pentateuch", *JBL* 129 (2010) 237-260.

⁷⁴ BÜCHNER, "ἐξιλάσασθαι", 254.

⁷⁵ C.H. DODD, "ἱλάσκεσθαι, Its Cognates, Derivatives, and Synonyms in the Septuagint", *JTS* 32 (1931) 352-360; T.W. MANSON, "ἱλαστήριον", *JTS* 46 (1945) 1-10; L. MORALDI, "Sensus vocis hilasterion in Rom 3,25", *VD* 26 (1948) 257-276; S. LYONNET, "The Terminology of 'Expiation'", *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice*. A Biblical and Patristic Study (eds. S. LYONNET - L. SABOURIN) (AnBib 48; Rome 1970) 124-126, 137-146, 147-166; K. GRAYSTON, "ἱλάσκεσθαι and Related Words in the LXX", *NTS* 27 (1981) 640-656; N.H. YOUNG, "C.H. Dodd, 'Hilaskesthai' and His Critics", *EvQ* 48 (1976) 67-78; IDEM, "'Hilaskesthai' and Related Words in the New Testament", *EvQ* 55 (1983) 169-176; DO, "Jesus' Death as *Hilasmus*", 537-553; and IDEM, "The LXX Background of *Hilasterion* in Rom 3,25," *The Letter to the Romans* (ed. U. SCHNELLE) (BETL 226; Leuven 2009) 641-657.

rendering of ἱλάσκομαι and its cognates does not regard the cultic meaning as a means of appeasing the displeasure of the Deity, but as a means of delivering human beings from sin. In such cases, the rendering of the ἱλάσκομαι word-group carries an expectation that God himself will perform the deliverance. Therefore, the common rendering “propitiation” is not proper in any biblical context ⁷⁶.

While Büchner argues strongly for “propitiation”, he allows a certain semantic shift that has its origin in the LXX and moves into later Jewish and Christian theology. Even though certain LXX words and phrases have a purely symbolic function, subsequent communities may well have altered and introduced them with a content that remains alien to standard Greek usage ⁷⁷.

In the NT, the propitiatory sense of ἱλάσκομαι seems to have disappeared, giving way to a stronger theological emphasis on expiation. For example, H.W. Attridge argues that the NT usage of the ἱλάσκομαι word-group whenever referring to Jesus’ sacrificial death is always directed at removing sin and its effects, not at propitiating God or appeasing his wrath ⁷⁸. More particular is the noun ἱλασμός in 2,2 and 4,10. I have elsewhere pointed out an important parallel between the phrases ἱλασμός ... περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (2,2 and 4,10) and τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας (1,7). Of particular importance are the expressions following the noun ἱλασμός and the verb καθαρίζω, both of which point directly to the forgiveness or purification of sins ⁷⁹. In 2,2 and 4,10 we are obviously dealing with the reality of sins, and not with appeasing God’s wrath. Added to this argument is the fact that nowhere in 1 John is the term θυμός/ὀργή used to refer to God’s wrath which must be appeased.

Much work has, of course, been done on ἱλασμός. For our purposes we will accept, with Attridge and others, that this word may best be viewed in light of the NT understanding of Jesus’ death as a means of expiating sins ⁸⁰. In the context of 1 John 2,2 (4,10; cf. 5,19) it is not God’s wrath that is propitiated. Rather, the author’s use of ἱλασμός

⁷⁶ DODD, “ἱλάσκεσθαι”, 353, 359-360.

⁷⁷ BÜCHNER, “ἐξιλάσασθαι”, 256.

⁷⁸ H.W. ATTRIDGE, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 1989) 96, n. 2.

⁷⁹ DO, “Jesus’ Death as *Hilasmus*”, 546-547.

⁸⁰ ATTRIDGE, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 96, n. 2; and DO, “Jesus’ Death as *Hilasmus*”, 553.

here in 2,2a and 4,10 refers to Jesus' death as sin-expiation for the members of the Johannine community (2bc) and the world (2d).

* *
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The incidental ellipsis of τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in 2d should be viewed with caution by interpreters and translators of 1 John 2,2. No exegete should readily take for granted that περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d implies "sin(s)" *per se*. As Graph 1 suggests, the better way to understand the implied sins is to look back to 2a with the employment of ἱλασμός.

The ellipsis of ἁμαρτιῶν or τῶν in this context is too uncertain to justify the insertion of "the sins" into the clause. The author asserts in 2a that Jesus is not only the expiation (ἱλασμός) concerning the sins of the (Johannine) Christians (2bc), but also the expiation (ἱλασμός) concerning the whole world (2d). This Johannine conviction is reinforced at the end of the epistle. Because the whole world lies in the grip of evil (5,19), John believes that αὐτὸς [Jesus] ἱλασμός ἐστιν . . . περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου (2ad). In 1 John 2,1-2 the author seems to presuppose the reality of sin (2,1) among the members of the Johannine community (2,2bc). The expression περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου represents the Johannine conviction of the sin-expiation (ἱλασμός) concerning (περὶ) the whole world. But the "sin(s)" can be understood in connection with ἱλασμός, and not in περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. Our understanding of 2d will do justice to the author *only if* we look beyond its immediate syntax (2bc) and link 2d with 2a. The main clause αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστιν serves as a key to the interpretation of the entire verse.

Sacred Heart School of Theology
7335 S Lovers Lane Road
Franklin, WI 53132, U.S.A.

Toan Do

SUMMARY

In 1 John 2,2 the phrases (2b) περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, (2c) οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον, (2d) ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, demand careful interpretation. The construction οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ explains the sequence of 2b and 2c, following the *peri*-clause in 2a. However, this does not explain theologically to what περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου in 2d refers. This essay seeks, in some measure, to remedy this syntactical conundrum by proposing a contextual reading of 2a as parallel with 2d.

הקיצתי ועודי עמך (Sal 139,18b): una proposta strutturale

Sal 139,18b costituisce una famosa *crux interpretum*. Il problema principale è costituito dal verbo הקיצתי. Secondo il TM, esso è perfetto hifil del verbo קיץ, “svegliarsi”. Apparentemente però questo significato non ha niente a che vedere con lo stico precedente, che parla di “contare” i pensieri di Dio (v. 18a). BHS propone di leggere, con una leggera modificazione vocalica, הקצותי, “sono giunto alla fine”, dal verbo קצץ, denominativo di קץ, “fine”. ICE¹ traduce: “se li credo finiti, con te sono ancora”². Ma un tale uso del verbo קצץ sarebbe unico, il verbo generalmente significa “tagliare” (Alonso Schökel traduce “li sminuzzo”)³. Noi preferiamo rimanere con il TM e tradurre, con la maggior parte degli autori: “mi sono svegliato”⁴. Ma la domanda rimane: che senso ha questo verbo nel contesto?

Alcuni autori pensano ad un risveglio dopo l’incubazione al tempio, come se si trattasse di un giudizio di Dio⁵. Però finora niente nel salmo fa pensare che il salmista sia sottoposto ad un giudizio.

Istintivamente, uno è portato a rispettare il *parallelismus membrorum*, e quindi a collegare il v. 18b con il v. 18a, cioè con il tentativo di contare i pensieri di Dio. Citiamo Ravasi:

¹ Per le moderne traduzioni della Bibbia usiamo le abbreviazioni di Bible Works 8.

² Non così ICN (“Mi risveglio e sono ancora con te”). Come ICE anche TNK: “I end – but am still with You”; FBJ: “Ai-je fini, je suis encore avec toi”; EIN: “Käme ich bis zum Ende, wäre ich noch immer bei dir”. Tra i commentatori, cf. L. JACQUET, *Les psaumes et le coeur de l’homme* (Gembloux 1975-1979) III, 603 (“Y parviendrais-tu? Qu’envers Toi je ne serai quitte!”); L.C. ALLEN, *Psalms 101-150*, Revised (WBC 21; Nashville, TN 2002) 320 (“If I came to the end, I would not have finished with you”, 317).

³ “Li sminuzzo: ancora mi resti Tu!” (L. ALONSO SCHÖKEL – C. CARNITI, *I Salmi* [Roma 1992-1993] II, 774).

⁴ Anche Barthélemy considera la variante suggerita da BHS come puramente congetturale, senza fondamento nel testo (D. BARTHÉLEMY, *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*. IV, Psaumes [OBO 50/4; Fribourg – Göttingen 2005] 846).

⁵ Così, tra gli altri, W. BEYERLIN, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen des Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht* (FRLANT 99; Göttingen 1970) 144-146.

Addormentatosi nello sforzo vano di enumerare i pensieri del Signore, l'uomo si trova ancora al punto di partenza, col segreto di Dio intatto davanti a lui. Oppure l'orante veglia notti intere per cercare risposta alle questioni fondamentali su Dio e Dio è sempre con lui (Dhorme). O ancora, "tutta questa fatica di riflessione e di investigazione non è riuscita a separarmi da lui: egli è sempre là" (Kraus) ⁶.

Queste spiegazioni non sono del tutto soddisfacenti. Tra il "contare" i pensieri di Dio e il "risvegliarsi" non c'è un passaggio logico. La mia proposta, che, per quanto ho potuto vedere, è nuova, è che il v. 18b vada compreso non in rapporto al v. 18a, ma in parallelo con il v. 16. Per giustificare questa proposta è necessario delineare una struttura della pericope in cui il v. 18b è inserito.

I. La struttura del Sal 139

Il Sal 139 è diviso in due parti, vv. 1-18 e 19-24. La divisione è così netta che non manca chi pensi che si tratti di due salmi diversi ⁷. La vistosa inclusione tra i vv. 1-6 e 19-24 (vedi ad esempio i vv. 1b-2a con 23) parla contro questa ipotesi, ma la diversità tra i due brani è evidente: solo nei vv. 19-24 si parla di peccatori e nemici di Dio ⁸. Dato che il v. 18b appartiene alla prima parte, formandone la conclusione, ci concentreremo ora su di essa.

Il brano dei vv. 1b-18 a sua volta si suddivide nelle stanze seguenti: vv. 1b-6 || 7-12 || 13-18 ⁹. Le tre stanze sono disposte a perno centrale, in modo

⁶ G. RAVASI, *Il libro dei Salmi* (Bologna 1981-1985) III, 821. Nello stesso senso anche BARTHÉLEMY, *Critique textuelle*, 846.

⁷ Così, ad esempio, H. SCHMIDT, *Die Psalmen* (HAT; Tübingen 1934).

⁸ Cf. in questo senso J. HOLMAN, "The Structure of Ps 139", *VT* 21 (1971) 298-310; M. GIRARD, *Les Psaumes redécouverts*. De la structure au sens (Montréal 1994-1996) III, 435-447.

⁹ Questa divisione è seguita anche, ad esempio, da M. MANNATI, "Psaume 139,14-16", *ZAW* 83 (1971) 224-248; H. SCHÜNGEL-STRAUMANN, "Zur Gattung und Theologie des 139. Psalms", *BZ* 17 (1973) 39-51, 46-49; H.-J. KRAUS, *Psalmen* (BK 15; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978) II, 1096-1101; RAVASI, *Il libro dei Salmi*, 802; T. BOOU, "Psalm 139: Text, Syntax, Meaning", *VT* 55 (2005) 1-19; A. WAGNER, "Permutatio religionis – Ps 139 und der Wandel der israelitischen Religion zur Bekenntnisreligion", *VT* 57 (2007) 91-113, 103; F.-L. HOSSFELD – E. ZENGER, *Psalmen 101-150* (HThKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien 2008) 719-721; M. KÖCKERT, "Ausgespäht und überwacht, erschreckend wunderbar geschaffen: Gott und Mensch in Psalm 139", *ZThK* 107 (2010) 415-447, 417-426; P. VAN DER LUGT, *Cantos and Strophes in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*. II. Psalms 42 – 89 (OTS 57; Leiden – Boston, MA 2010) 491; C. Labuschagne (www.labuschagne.nl/ps139.pdf).

che la prima e la terza si corrispondono (cfr. tab. 1). Segnaliamo anzitutto la corrispondenza del raro vocabolo רע, “pensiero”. Al v. 2b si parla dei pensieri del salmista (רעי), al v. 17a di quelli di Dio (רעיך). Le altre corrispondenze sono: il verbo ידע (vv. 1b.2a.4b.6a, e 14c); il lessema פלא, “essere meraviglioso” (vv. 6a e 14a.14b, solo qui nel salmo); il pronome personale di seconda persona (אתה, vv. 2a e 13a); la particella universalizzante כל (vv. 3 e 16, solo ancora nel v. 22 il verbo כללה); la particella causale/asseverativa כי (vv. 4a e 13a.14a, solo qui nel salmo). L’inclusione non si limita alla ripresa di vocaboli significativi, ma comprende anche il tempo dei verbi. Infatti nella prima e nella terza stanza il tempo dei verbi è generalmente al perfetto, guarda al passato, mentre nella seconda è all’imperfetto, considera possibilità ipotetiche al presente o futuro. Inoltre nella prima e nella terza stanza il soggetto è soprattutto il “tu” divino, mentre nella seconda l’accento è posto sull’“io” del salmista.

Tabella 1

<i>Stanze</i>	<i>Sentimento di Dio</i>	<i>Soggetto</i>	<i>Tempo dei verbi</i>
A. Stanza I: vv. 1-6	+/-	Tu	Perfetto
B. Stanza II: vv. 7-12	-	Io	Imperfetto
A'. Stanza III: vv. 13-18	+	Tu	Perfetto

Dal punto di vista dello sviluppo del pensiero, notiamo che nella prima stanza (vv. 1b-6) il sentimento del salmista nei confronti di Dio è ambivalente. Egli si sente circondato e scrutato da Dio: da una parte perciò, positivamente, protetto da lui, dall’altra però anche, negativamente, “assediato” e “giudicato” dal Dio giusto ¹⁰.

La seconda stanza (vv. 7-12) sviluppa l’aspetto negativo. Il salmista vorrebbe fuggire o nascondersi da questa presenza conturbante, ma non ci riesce: Dio è dappertutto, anche nei luoghi più remoti.

La terza stanza (vv. 13-18) sviluppa, della presenza di Dio, l’aspetto positivo. Il salmista si sente come un’opera meravigliosa di Dio, e di questo lo ringrazia. La presenza di Dio non lo disturba più, è percepita come

¹⁰ Sull’aspetto “negativo” dei vv. 1-12 insiste W. Groß, in modo forse un po’ unilaterale, ma con una buona parte di verità (W. GROSS, “Von YHWH belagert. Zu Ps 139,1-12”, *Studien zur Priesterschrift und zu alttestamentlichen Gottesbildern* [SBAB 30; Stuttgart 1999] 173-183).

una presenza d'amore. La stanza termina significativamente con l'espressione: "Io sono ancora con te" (v. 18b).

Come nota Irsigler, il passaggio da un'immagine negativa a una positiva di Dio è frutto della preghiera ¹¹. Mettendosi profondamente di fronte a Dio, il salmista passa dalla paura di fronte alla sua presenza minacciosa alla gioia di stare con lui.

II. La struttura dei vv. 13-18

Nella terza stanza (vv. 13-18) il salmista non elenca più modi immaginari per sottrarsi alla presenza di Dio, ma guarda al passato, alla propria creazione, come nella prima stanza. Con la prima stanza la terza ha in comune anche la meraviglia per le opere di Dio e l'impossibilità di conoscere il suo pensiero.

Però la terza stanza è anche collegata con la seconda. Tale legame è espresso dalla particella causale כִּי all'inizio della stanza. Per Dio la luce e le tenebre sono la stessa cosa (v. 12c) perché lui ha fatto i reni del salmista e l'ha intessuto nel ventre della madre (v. 13): perciò lo conosce fuori e dentro. Il tema del "vedere nell'oscurità" percorre tutta la stanza, rivelandone il legame con i vv. 11-12 (cfr. v. 15: "non ti erano nascoste", "nel segreto"; v. 16: "mi hanno visto").

Stranamente però ora l'atteggiamento del salmista nei confronti di Dio non è quello della paura, ma quello della meraviglia e dell'abbandono. L'ambiguità della prima stanza e il tono decisamente negativo con cui la presenza di Dio era sentita nella seconda lasciano il posto ad un sentimento positivo di fiducia.

La stanza si può dividere in due strofe di tre versi ciascuna, ambedue costruite in forma concentrica: i vv. 13-15 e 16-18 ¹². Se nei vv. 7-12 il salmista

¹¹ H. IRSIGLER, "Psalm 139 als Gebetsprozess", *Wer darf hinaufsteigen zum Berg JHWHs?*. Beiträge zu Prophetie und Poesie des Alten Testaments, Festschrift S.Ö. Steingrímsson (ed. H. IRSIGLER) (ATSAT 72; St. Ottilien 2002) 223-264. Simile è l'interpretazione proposta da C. PRESSLER, "Certainty, Ambiguity and Trust. Knowledge of God in Psalm 139", *A God so Near*. Festschrift P.D. Miller (eds. B.A. STRAWN – N.R. BOWEN) (Winona Lake, IN 2003) 91-99. Per una maniera differente di presentare lo sviluppo unitario del salmo cf. Y. MAZOR, "When Aesthetics is Harnessed to Psychological Characterization. 'Ars poetica' in Psalm 139", *ZAW* 109 (1997) 260-271, che insiste più sul lato poetico del discorso.

¹² Per questa struttura cf. W.P. BROWN, "Creatio corporis and the Rhetoric of Defense in Job 10 and Psalm 139", *God who Creates*. Festschrift W. Sibley Towner (eds. W.P. BROWN – S.D. MCBRIDE) (Grand Rapids, MI 2000) 107-124, 112.

aveva elencato i punti estremi del mondo, ora egli considera i momenti estremi della sua vita. La prima strofa comprende i vv. 13-15, ed è caratterizzata da un andare agli inizi della vita, nell'utero della madre. I vv. 13 e 15 formano inclusione (AA') per riferirsi ambedue alla vita intrauterina del salmista. Anche se i lessemi sono diversi, essi sono chiaramente sinonimici (creare – fare; tessere – ricamare; reni – ossa; ventre della madre – profondità della terra). Al centro, il v. 14 esprime la meraviglia del salmista di fronte a questo prodigio divino (cfr. tab. 2).

Tabella 2

A. v. 13	Creazione dei reni nel ventre materno
B. v. 14	Lode per il prodigio divino
A'. v. 15	Creazione delle ossa nel profondo della terra

La seconda strofa, i vv. 16-18, è inclusa dal lessema סִפֹּר (vv. 16b e 18a). Essa va più in là della concezione, più in là della creazione, nel pensiero stesso di Dio (v. 16), e, simmetricamente, oltre la morte (v. 18b). Al centro abbiamo ancora la meraviglia di fronte al disegno (רֵעַ) immensurabile del creatore (vv. 17-18a). La strofa riprende il procedimento stilistico della polarità, caratteristico del salmo (cfr. tab. 3)¹³.

Tabella 3

A. v. 16	Prima della nascita
B. v. 17-18a	Meraviglia di fronte al pensiero di Dio
A'. v. 18b	Dopo la morte

Indubbiamente una tale struttura sembra sconvolgere il ritmo del TM, eliminando il *parallelismus membrorum* nel v. 18 e collegando il v. 18a con il v. 17. Dal punto di vista ritmico ci troviamo di fronte ad un effetto di *enjambement*, per cui il v. 18a, pur facendo parte ritmicamente del v. 18, continua, quanto al senso, il versetto precedente. D'altronde il v. 16 è strutturato in maniera analoga, perché il v. 16a ("Ancora informe mi hanno visto i tuoi occhi") è staccato quanto al contenuto dal v. 16b, che è invece unito sintatticamente al v. 16cd, anche qui con chiaro effetto di *enjambement* ("e sul tuo libro tutti erano scritti || i giorni [che] sarebbero stati formati, || quando [ancora] nessuno di essi era presente")¹⁴. Dal punto di vista del contenuto, la strofa presenta perciò la seguente struttura (cfr. tab. 4).

¹³ Sulla polarità nel Sal 139, cf. J. KRAŠOVEC, "Die polare Ausdrucksweise im Psalm 139", *BZ* 18 (1974) 224-248.

¹⁴ Soggetto del verbo יִכְתֹּב (v. 16b) non può essere che יְמִיָּם (v. 16c), perciò

Tabella 4

	16a	
16b	16c	16d
17a	17b	18a
	18b	

III. I vv. 16-18

Se nei vv. 13-15 il salmista era andato fino agli estremi della sua esistenza, al momento della nascita (e, implicitamente, anche a quello della morte, a cui fa allusione l'espressione "nelle profondità della terra")¹⁵, ora va oltre, nelle due direzioni: prima della nascita (v. 16) e oltre la morte (v. 18b).

"Ancora informe, mi (גלמי) hanno visto i tuoi occhi" (v. 16a). Per il termine גלם rimandiamo all'interpretazione di Köckert¹⁶. Diversamente dall'opinione corrente, che vede nel גלם l'embrione, questo autore ritiene che esso indichi il periodo antecedente alla concezione¹⁷. Questa inter-

il pual יצרו (v. 16c) va inteso come una proposizione relativa (cf. HOSSFELD – ZENGER, *Psalmen*, 715: "... und in deinem Buch werden allesamt verzeichnet, die Tage, die geformt wurden, as nicht einer von ihnen da war").

¹⁵ L'espressione בארית ים rimanda al v. 9: ברחמים ארץ. I paralleli (cf. Sal 63,10; Ez 26,20; Is 44,23-24) fanno pensare al regno dei morti, lo Sheol, di cui parlava il v. 8b. L'associazione è interessante, perché effettivamente nella concezione egiziana il regno dei morti, la notte, il caos, era allo stesso tempo il regno della morte e quello da cui nasceva la nuova vita (cf. O. KEEL, *Die Welt der alt-orientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*. Am Beispiel der Psalmen [Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984] 67, figura 90). Per questo accostamento del grembo della madre a quello della terra, cf. Sir 40,1: "Un giogo pesante sta sui figli di Adamo, dal giorno della loro uscita dal grembo materno fino al giorno del ritorno alla madre di tutti". "Madre di tutti" è la terra. L'uomo così è compreso tra due grembi, quello della madre, da cui nasce, e quello della terra, a cui fa ritorno. Ma il grembo della madre si sovrappone a quello della terra, perché l'uomo è fatto di terra, come ricorda Gen 3: "... finché non ritornerai alla terra, perché da essa sei stato tratto: polvere tu sei e in polvere ritornerai" (Gen 3,19). E Giobbe confessa: "Nudo uscii dal grembo di mia madre, e nudo vi ritornerò" (Gb 1,21). Si veda in questo senso EBERHARDT, *JHWH und die Unterwelt*, 133-136. Non per niente in molte culture antiche "il cadavere è deposto nella terra nella stessa posizione del feto raccolto ad ovale come se stesse per iniziare una nuova e misteriosa gestazione nel seno della terra 'omniparens' (Virgilio)" (RAVASI, *Il libro dei Salmi*, 819).

¹⁶ KÖCKERT, "Ausgespäht", 438.

¹⁷ Così hanno inteso, d'altronde, già G e Aquila: τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν μου, similmente Simmaco: ἀμόρφωτόν μου. La filosofia ebraica medievale ha usato il termine גלם per indicare la materia informe (cf. KÖCKERT, "Ausgespäht", 438, n. 94).

pretazione a mio avviso si inserisce meglio nel contesto del v. 16, che parla di uno stadio preesistente al tempo. Prima che i giorni fossero formati, essi erano già scritti nel libro di Dio (v. 16bcd). Così prima che il salmista fosse formato, gli occhi di Dio già l'avevano visto. Se il termine aramaico גולמא indica un vaso "non ancora formato"¹⁸, la presenza del verbo יצר al v. 16c suggerisce un parallelismo tra i due concetti, גלמי e ימים. È illuminante, a mio avviso, il parallelo di Ger 1,5, dove i due stadi dell'esistenza umana vengono così descritti: "Prima di formarti (יצר) nel ventre ti ho conosciuto, e prima che uscissi dall'utero ti ho consacrato"¹⁹. Se i vv. 13 e 15 si riferivano alla seconda espressione di Ger 1,5, il v. 16 si riferisce alla prima.

Il creatore non è soggetto al tempo, egli è fuori del divenire, fuori della storia, egli abita l'eternità (cfr. Sal 90,4; 102,26-28)²⁰. In tale contesto il verbo "vedere" ha il senso di "pre-vedere", come in 1Sam 16,1. Il "libro" di cui parla il v. 16b si riferisce probabilmente al concetto babilonese delle "tavole del destino", in cui gli dèi scrivevano la sorte destinata a ciascun uomo²¹. Per un simile libro si trovano paralleli nella letteratura intertestamentaria (cfr. Jub 32,21; 4 Ezra 6,20 e 4Q180 Frgm 1:3)²². Anche se manca il concetto delle "tavole del destino", nell'AT il concetto di un pensiero divino precedente l'esistenza di un individuo è presente, come abbiamo visto, nella vocazione di Geremia (Ger 1,5).

Il sostantivo ימים si riferisce, dal contesto, ai giorni del salmista, anche se il possessivo di prima persona non è espresso. Gb 14,5 afferma che i giorni dell'uomo sono contati, e Eberhardt ritiene, di conseguenza, che anche Sal 139,16 abbia questo significato²³, che Dio, cioè, conosca il giorno della nostra morte. Ma il verbo יצר ha un significato più ampio che un semplice computo dei giorni, cfr. Is 22,11; 37,26 (Dio ha "formato" da tempi lontani l'assedio di Gerusalemme); 46,11 (Dio ha "progettato" l'avvento di Ciro)²⁴. "I giorni dell'uomo sono la sua esistenza ed è Dio

¹⁸ Cf. J. LEVY, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schrifttums* (Köln 1959) 143.

¹⁹ Sul legame tra il Sal 139 e il libro di Geremia cf. HOSSFELD – ZENGER, *Psalmen*, 730.

²⁰ "Er steht jenseits und diesseits von Zeit und Geschichte" (S. WAGNER, "Zur Theologie des Psalms 139", *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* [ed. D. MATHIAS] [BZAW 240; Berlin – New York 1996] 131-150, 142).

²¹ Cf. F.-L. HOSSFELD – E. REUTER, "ספר *sepær*", *TWAT* V, 942-943; KÖCKERT, "Ausgespäht", 439-441; J. HOLMAN, "Analysis of the Text of Ps 139", *BZ* 14 (1970) 37-71.198-227, qui 199.

²² Cf. KÖCKERT, "Ausgespäht", 441.

²³ G. EBERHARDT, *JHWH und die Unterwelt. Spuren einer Kompetenzerweiterung JHWHs im Alten Testament* (FAT II 23; Tübingen 2007) 137-138.

²⁴ Cf. KÖCKERT, "Ausgespäht", 442.

che li plasma, li profila, proprio come aveva plasmato e profilato la struttura fisica dell'individuo. Li plasma ancor prima che uno di essi esista... Egli è capace di perlustrare da padrone il futuro che ancora non è, anzi è lui stesso che lo delimita e lo organizza”²⁵. Quindi a nostro avviso il salmo parla di predestinazione, di previsione del destino di un uomo. Nel Signore non c'è passato e futuro, tutto è presente, egli è fuori del tempo. L'immagine di Dio che il salmo presenta è indubbiamente molto elevata: ci troviamo in uno stadio avanzato della riflessione religiosa²⁶.

In parallelo con il v. 14, nei vv. 17-18a il salmista esprime la sua reazione alla scoperta che la sua vita è stata “progettata” da Dio fin dall'eternità. Il pronome **מִי**, ripetuto due volte in forma anaforica nei due stichi 17a e 17b esprime meraviglia di fronte ad un fatto straordinario. Il primo verbo, **יָקָר**, ha allo stesso tempo il significato di “essere prezioso” e “essere difficile”: l'autore gioca sul doppio senso. Come nel v. 6, che strutturalmente corrisponde al nostro, si vuole mettere in evidenza che tra il conoscere di Dio e quello dell'uomo non c'è simmetria. Dio conosce l'uomo dall'eternità, ma l'uomo non conosce i pensieri di Dio.

Il v. 18a continua sulla stessa linea: “Se tento di contarli, sono più della sabbia”. La frase ha un parallelo in Sal 40,6 (“Quante **רַבּוֹת** meraviglie hai fatto, tu, Signore, mio Dio, quanti progetti in nostro favore: nessuno a te si può paragonare! Se li voglio annunciare e proclamare, sono troppi per essere contati [**עֲצָמוֹ מִסֶּפֶר**]”). Anche il Siracide torna più volte sull'incommensurabilità delle opere del Signore (Sir 18,4-7, cfr. 43,27-28).

Indubbiamente, quanto al contenuto, il v. 18a è intimamente collegato con i due stichi del v. 17.

IV. Il v. 18b

Diverso è il caso del v. 18b, sul quale ora vogliamo soffermarci. Forse proprio il parallelo con Sir 18,7 e 43,27, in cui appare il concetto di “fine” (**קֵץ**, 43,27; **συντελέση**, 18,7), ha indotto alla congettura della traduzione *ICE* sopra ricordata (“se li credo finiti”). Noi abbiamo preferito attenerci al TM. Ora, se si legge “mi sono svegliato”, il legame tra i due versetti non appare. Infatti non si dice, prima, che il salmista si fosse addormentato, ed è gratuito supporre che ciò sia implicito nella difficoltà del “contare” o che sia legato ad una incubazione nel tempio.

²⁵ RAVASI, *Il libro dei Salmi*, 820. In questo senso anche KÖCKERT, “Ausgespäht”, 41: “Già dall'inizio del mondo, quando egli (= il salmista, *nda*) ancora non c'era, lui e il suo futuro destino erano previsti da Dio e ‘la loro totalità’ era segnata sul suo libro”.

²⁶ Sulla teologia del Sal 139, cf. WAGNER, “Zur Theologie”.

Come dicevo, la mia proposta è di intendere il v. 18b non in rapporto al v. 18a, ma in parallelo con il v. 16, secondo la struttura concentrica sopra delineata. D'altra parte l'espressione עֲרִי עִמָּךְ, "io sono ancora con te", suggerisce il riferimento ad un tempo in cui il salmista già era con Dio, quindi rimanda al v. 16. All'esistenza del salmista nel pensiero di Dio prima della sua concezione (v. 16), corrisponde la sua esistenza "presso Dio" dopo la morte, cioè "al risveglio" (v. 18b), secondo quella polarità che è caratteristica della poesia del Sal 139. Il "risveglio" si riferisce, dal contesto, al risveglio dalla morte, alla resurrezione.

Questa interpretazione non è nuova. La troviamo presente già in G: ἐξέγερθῃ καὶ ἔτι εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ²⁷, così come in Vg: *exsurrexi et adhuc sum tecum*. Anche il Targum si pone su questa linea: "I shall awake in the world to come (אֶחָדָרִית בְּעֵלְמָא דְּאַחַרָּי) and I shall still be with you"²⁸. Tra gli esegeti moderni, la vediamo proposta, tra gli altri, da Holman²⁹, Dahood³⁰, Brown³¹, Siegfried Wagner³², e Andreas Wagner³³.

A questa interpretazione Allen obietta che nel Sal 139 non si parla altrove della morte³⁴. Tale obiezione non è giustificata, perché alla morte alludono diversi passi del salmo.

Ad esempio, nel v. 8 l'espressione "se mi corico nello Sheol, eccoti" (אֲצִיעָא שְׂאוֹל הִנֵּךְ) esprime bene la sorpresa che il salmista ha nel trovare Dio nel regno dei morti, con cui si pensava che Dio non avesse niente a che fare (cfr. Sal 88,6). Il pensiero che Dio è presente anche nello Sheol, che il suo dominio si estende anche là, è recente nell'AT. Il passo è importante, come sottolinea Michel: "Se con la morte è tutto finito, allora qui c'è un limite al potere di Dio, allora egli è sì il 'Dio dei viventi' ma non più il 'Dio dei morti'. Se i morti nello Sheol vivono un'esistenza umbratile, in cui sono tagliati fuori dalla mano di Dio (Sal 88,6), allora questo sarebbe un ambito, in cui JHWH, il Dio di Israele, non sarebbe più l'unico signore"³⁵. Accanto al Sal 139, questo pensiero appare in Sal 73,23-24;

²⁷ Così anche Simmaco: ἐξυπνῶσω καὶ εἰς αἰὲ ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ.

²⁸ Trad. D.M. STEC, *The Targum of Psalms* (London – New York 2004) 234, corsivo ivi. Nello stesso senso anche il Talmud e diversi commentatori rabbinici (cf. J.G.S.S. THOMSON, "Sleep: An Aspect of Jewish Anthropology", *VT* 5 [1955] 421-433, 424).

²⁹ HOLMAN, "Analysis", 209-211.

³⁰ M. DAHOOD, *Psalms* (AB 17A; Garden City, NY 1979) III, 296-297.

³¹ Cf. BROWN, "Creatio corporis", 112.

³² WAGNER, "Zur Theologie", 144.

³³ WAGNER, "Permutatio religionis", 100, n. 25.

³⁴ ALLEN, *Psalms*, 320. L'autore si rifà a THOMSON, "Sleep", 424.

³⁵ D. MICHEL, "Ich aber bin immer bei dir. Von der Unsterblichkeit der Gottesbeziehung", *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte alttestamentlicher Texte* (TB 93; Gütersloh 1997) 155-179, 156-157.

16,10-11; 49,16³⁶, e, fuori del salterio, in Is 25,8; 26,19-21; Dn 12,2-3³⁷, così come nei libri deuterocanonici dei Maccabei e della Sapienza (cfr. Sap 3,1-9; 5,15-16). Così cade anche l'altra obiezione di Allen, che il pensiero della resurrezione nel Sal 139 sia teologicamente anacronistico. Non lo è, perché il salmo è certamente recente³⁸, e quindi più o meno contemporaneo ai testi sopra citati.

Il pensiero della morte viene ripreso anche al v. 9b: "Se vado ad abitare all'estremità del mare" (אֲשָׁכְנָה בְּאַחֲרֵי יָם). Ad occidente di Israele c'è il Mar Mediterraneo: qui tramonta il sole. Quindi l'estremità del mare è il punto estremo dell'orizzonte, dove regna la notte. Quanto l'oriente è associato a immagini di vita, l'occidente, la notte è collegata con immagini di caos e di morte: le necropoli egiziane erano situate a occidente del Nilo. Alla polarità spaziale (cielo-sheol, v. 8) si aggiunge quella temporale (giorno-notte, v. 9): sono ambedue espressioni della polarità fondamentale "vita-morte". Seguendo il corso del sole, per fuggire dalla presenza di Dio il salmista vorrebbe andare ad "abitare" (אֲשָׁכְנָה) al di là dell'oceano, nel regno della notte e della morte³⁹. Ebbene anche là (שָׁם), nel regno della morte, è la mano di Dio a guidarlo (v. 10). Anche là Dio è presente. E si potrebbe forse cogliere la stessa valenza metaforica nella polarità luce-tenebre di cui parlano i vv. 11-12 (cfr. Gb 3,4-6).

I paralleli dell'AT supportano la nostra interpretazione. Il pensiero che l'uomo si trova "con Dio" (עִמָּךְ) è piuttosto raro nella bibbia ebraica. Esso

³⁶ Cf., per la speranza in una vita oltre la morte nel salterio, G.A. MINDLING, "Hope for a Felicitous Afterlife in Psalms 16, 49 and 73", *Laur.* 32 (1991) 305-369; K. LIESS, *Der Weg des Lebens*. Psalm 16 und das Lebens- und Todesverständnis der Individualpsalmen (FAT II/5; Tübingen 2004); P.J. D'SOUZA, *Stronger than Death*. Intimations of Afterlife in the Book of Psalms (Bangalore 2010).

³⁷ Cf. B. JANOWSKI, *Konfliktgespräche mit Gott* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2003) 336-346.

³⁸ Diversi autori ritengono il Sal 139 di epoca tardo-postesilica, più ellenistica che persiana, cf. ad esempio H. GUNKEL, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen 1986) 586; W.O.E. OESTERLEY, *The Psalms*. Translated with text-critical and exegetical notes (London 1939) 553; E.J. KISSANE, *The Book of Psalms* (Dublin 1953-1954) II, 291; E. WÜRTHWEIN, "Erwägungen zu Psalm 139", *VT* 7 (1957) 165-182, 181; A. DEISSLER, *Die Psalmen* (WB.KK; Düsseldorf 1965) III, 191. La ragione principale addotta da questi autori è la presenza di aramaismi (vv. 4, 8, 12c, 16 e 19), così come la vicinanza al libro di Giobbe. Da parte nostra vorremmo sottolineare anche l'elevato concetto di Dio, nettamente monoteistico (cf. WAGNER, "Zur Theologie", 138).

³⁹ Per la concezione egiziana cf. KEEL, *Bildsymbolik*, 29-31, figura 32; 46-47, figura 55. Più generalmente, per il Vicino Oriente antico, si veda il sempre attuale: O. KAISER, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW 78; Berlin 1959).

è il reciproco dell'espressione: "tu sei con me" (Sal 23,4; Is 41,10). "Io sono con te" si trova ancora in Sal 36,10; 130,4 e 7: si tratta di tre passi altamente positivi, associati all'idea dell'amore e del perdono di Dio. Ma il parallelo più interessante è Sal 73,23-25: "Ma io sono sempre con te (חַמִּיד עִמָּךְ): tu mi hai preso per la mano destra. Mi guiderai secondo i tuoi disegni e poi mi accoglierai nella gloria. Chi avrò per me nel cielo? Con te (עִמָּךְ) non desidero nulla sulla terra". In Sal 139,18b עִמָּךְ esprime, per contrasto ai precedenti riferimenti al regno dei morti, la gioia della comunione con Dio. Il salmista non vuole più nascondersi da lui, la sua presenza non è più per lui motivo di paura, ma di gioia ⁴⁰.

Anche per il verbo "svegliarsi" (קִיץ) i paralleli non mancano. Nei Salmi è significativa la fine del Sal 17: "Ma io nella giustizia contemplerò il tuo volto, al risveglio (בִּהְקִיץ) mi sazierò della tua immagine". È vero che il significato della frase nel contesto del Sal 17 è controverso, ma la possibilità di un'apertura in senso escatologico, anche proprio per il parallelo con il Sal 139, non può essere esclusa ⁴¹. In senso chiaramente escatologico il verbo קִיץ appare in Dn 12,2: "Molti di quelli che dormono nella regione della polvere si risveglieranno (יִקְצוּ): gli uni alla vita eterna e gli altri alla vergogna e per l'infamia eterna". Nello stesso senso leggiamo in Is 26,19: "Ma di nuovo vivranno i tuoi morti. I miei cadaveri risorgeranno! Svegliatevi (הִקְצוּ) ed esultate voi che giacete nella polvere. Sì, la tua rugiada è rugiada luminosa, la terra darà alla luce le ombre".

L'epoca tardiva del Sal 139 e la sua elevata teologia rendono verosimile questa interpretazione. Se è così, allora la lettura che del versetto fa la liturgia pasquale cristiana, seguendo la Vulgata (*Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum*, introito della domenica di Pasqua), non appare estranea all'orizzonte del salmo ebraico ⁴².

Via Appia Antica 102
I-00179 Roma

Gianni BARBIERO

⁴⁰ Alla luce di questo עִמָּךְ si comprende anche la seconda parte del salmo, i vv. 19-24: in essi si esprime una radicale presa di distanza da tutti coloro che vorrebbero separarlo dal suo Dio.

⁴¹ Cf. al riguardo D'SOUZA, *Stronger than Death*, 158-162.

⁴² Una trattazione del pensiero ebraico sul tema della resurrezione esula dalla finalità di questa breve comunicazione, che si limita all'interpretazione di un singolo passo. Siamo coscienti che accanto ad alcuni, relativamente pochi, brani dell'AT che lasciano intravedere una speranza nella resurrezione, se ne possono citare numerosi altri in cui tale speranza non appare. Il tema è complesso e divide ancor oggi gli spiriti, come ai tempi di Paolo. Sia sufficiente rinviare ad alcuni studi generali, come, ad esempio, R. MARTIN-ACHARD, "Resurrection dans l'Ancien Testament et le judaïsme", *DBS X* (Paris 1985) 437-487; S. PAULL RAPHAEL, *Jewish Views of the Afterlife* (Lan-

SUMMARY

This article proposes the following translation of Ps 139,18b MT: “I wake up, and am still with you”. In the author’s opinion “to wake up” has a metaphorical sense here, referring to the resurrection from the dead. The sentence is to be understood not in relation to v. 18a, but to v. 16a (“Your eyes beheld me still unformed”), with which it is in structural correspondence. The two expressions form a polarity, the first referring to man’s existence in the mind of God before birth, the second to his existence after death when the psalmist will be “still with him”.

ham, MD ²2009); C. BLANCO, *Why Resurrection?* An Introduction to the Belief in the Afterlife in Judaism and Christianity (Eugene, OR 2011).

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Matthew R. SCHLIMM, *From Fratricide to Forgiveness. The Language and Ethics of Anger in Genesis* (Siphrut 7. Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures). Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 2011. xiv-242 p. 16 × 23,5. \$ 34.50

The book of Genesis is not concerned with divine anger, but, as exemplified by the story of Cain and Abel, it deals with human anger. It is this that the author has dealt with in his study; it is the emotional world, more specifically, anger, and the book of Genesis is chosen as a biblical text which is particularly interesting for understanding this human emotion. The theme of anger in the Book of Genesis is analyzed, but the author has not commented on the biblical book in its entirety, but only on certain texts within it. The author aims to provide a methodological model which could be useful for other exegetes who want to study other emotions as portrayed in other biblical texts. These are the two focal points of his book, as declared by Schlimm himself in the Introduction: "The emotion of anger appears in Genesis not merely to embellish story lines or add color to characters but to express a multi-faced message about the ethical significance of anger" (7). Of the many books written on Genesis, what sets Schlimm's book apart is his exploration of human anger.

The book is divided into three parts. The first analyzes the language and concept of anger in the Hebrew Bible; the second investigates Old Testament ethics; the third delves into the theme of anger in the Book of Genesis. In the six chapters of part one are explored general methodological questions such as findings from translation theory, anthropology, and cross-cultural psychology, cognitive linguistics, particularly prototype theory, among others. The reason for this wide discussion could be easily understood by examining the bibliography dedicated in the past to the portrayal of anger in the Bible. Generally speaking, these works have often imposed Western presuppositions onto depictions of biblical emotions. Schlimm tries, on the contrary, to explain in its own terms anger in the Hebrew Bible. To achieve this goal, the author refers to cognitive linguistics, and particularly to prototype theory. Whereas the sixth and last chapter of the first part describes the conceptual metaphors for anger as depicted in the Hebrew Bible, the first part leads to these conclusions. Anger is a response given by somebody to something perceived as ethi-

cally wrong: "(Anger) arises in response to perceived wrongdoings more than mere frustrations over daily affairs. It is concerned with ethical issues and is communal, directed not toward things but toward people" (87). The second part of the book, which contains only two chapters, concentrates first on the field of biblical ethics (chap. 7) and then deals with a particular narrative developing the theme of anger, as seen in the Book of Genesis (chap. 8). Lastly, the third part is dedicated to the analysis of texts taken from the Book of Genesis. In it there are several narratives in which the theme of anger is developed: "As a whole, these tales display a deep sensitivity to human frailty, an acute awareness of anger's power, and a realistic range of possibilities for engaging this emotion" (135). From Schlimm's selection of texts that he has researched, we gain a deeper understanding of the range of the emotion of anger.

In Chap. 9 the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4,1-16), which presents many parallels with the narrative of Adam and Eve's disobedience (Genesis 2-3), is dealt with, and anger is described not only as a feeling, but also as a danger to the moral life. In fact, anger is connected with sin and brings death onto the world. Abel was a shepherd, and chap. 10 is dedicated to three tales where other shepherds are involved: Genesis 13; 26 and 31. According to the author, these three stories develop the general idea that peace apart is better than war together. Other aspects of the emotion of anger in Genesis are taken into consideration in the following chapter, which is dedicated to marginalized people, such as women (Sarai, Rachel and Dinah) and slaves (Joseph and the servants of Pharaoh), who experienced the emotion of anger. Another important example of characters involved with the problem of anger is found in the story of Jacob and Esau (chap. 12). As considered in previous chapters, anger is also here presented as a force that is particularly dangerous within families. However, a solution to this problem exists, as is described in the story of Joseph at the end of Genesis, who forgave his brothers instead of taking revenge on them.

Finally, in the concluding chapter (chap. 13) a summary of the study, also collecting the different themes that were previously dealt with, is provided. Lastly, the book is enriched with two appendixes, a large bibliography, and some useful indexes, which include authors, scripture, key Hebrew words and subjects. The first Appendix is related to chap. 3 and explains how the statistics mentioned in it were attained. Appendix B describes from the semantic point of view the meanings of the main words used in Biblical Hebrew to express anger.

Schlimm's book, which is also available for free on the Internet, is interesting at least for three reasons. The first is the theme chosen by the author. In fact, analyses of human emotion were seldom studied prior to the 1990s, and they needed some methodological refinements. Moreover, the methodological considerations offered in the first part of his book are

very useful for exegetical work. To this point is also connected another reason why the book is of interest, which is the bibliography utilized by the author and found at the end of the book (203-222).

Criticism of the author's study arises, above all, because of his methodological point of view. For example, in some cases, Schlimm departs slightly from the MT (137, n. 7), particularly if the biblical text is difficult to explain, in order to support his thesis. In other cases, he finds parallels between texts or characters that are not really convincing, for example, between the story of Cain and Abel and that of Abram and Lot (144-147). He says: "Abram faces these same options that Cain did. But unlike his predecessor, Abram chooses to do what is good" (145). It is true, obviously, that the two tales (Gen 4,1-16 and 13) describe an opposition, but the context of the story of Cain and Abel is more dramatic than the argument between the shepherds of Abram and those of Lot. Moreover, the central problem in the story of Cain and Abel is the behavior of God, which, on the contrary, does not play any role in the story of Abram and Lot (Gen 13). Furthermore, certain statements by the author seem to be far-fetched. For example, speaking of Genesis 31, the author comments on the words of Rachel (Gen 31,35) in this way: "Rachel's words, however, testify on another level to the marginalized status of women, who could not stand and express their anger toward men in that culture" (151). It seems clear that the problem of Rachel is totally different from those mentioned by the author. Other examples of similar problematic statements could be mentioned, for instance, 151, n. 22; 156, n. 10; 165-166; 167-168.

The bibliography, as said above, is interesting and sometimes also intriguing, but the main part of it is in English with only minor exceptions, and it seems to be somewhat incomplete and one-sided. In fact, important books written in other languages, such as German and French, are not taken into consideration. Lastly, the analysis of the biblical texts only begins with chap. 9, which means the different parts of the book are disproportionately examined.

In conclusion, the theme chosen by the author and also the methodological attempt made by Schlimm are worth noting. On some points, however, the work seems to require refinements or more in-depth research.

Pontificia Università Urbaniana
Roma (Italia)

Donatella SCAIOLA

William A. TOOMAN, *Gog of Magog* (FAT 52). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011. xi–343 p. 15,5 × 23. €79

Having *completed* his dissertation on “Gog of Magog” under the supervision of Michael Fox in 2006, William Tooman let his work “cook” for a few years before returning to it and completing the present study in 2010. The volume presents the results of diligent analysis and mature reflection on a fascinating subject in Ezekiel studies — the origins of the Gog Oracle (GO) and its place in the present book of Ezekiel.

Tooman’s work is a magnificent study on intertextuality. He begins appropriately with a thirty-page introduction to intertextual method, including helpful summaries of how to identify scriptural reuse and establish the direction of dependence. Then he launches his substantive work, exploring how GO relates to the rest of Ezekiel. Based on lexical and conceptual features Tooman argues (1) that GO “mirrors Ezekiel’s idiolect and compositional style”; (2) this usage of Ezekielian material is “only cosmetic”; and (3) the prophet Ezekiel was not the author of the GO. Rather, this represents an independent composition composed largely of pre-existent linguistic bits and pieces (83) and secondarily inserted after Ezek 36,23b (cf. Papyrus⁹⁶⁷) or between chapters 37 and 40–48 (MT). Rather than trying to decide which textual tradition is earlier Tooman interprets the fluidity in its location as evidence that GO was added to the book at the end of its literary evolution.

In chapter 3 Tooman explores the linguistic and conceptual features that link GO with the Torah and the Prophets. He identifies twenty-nine locutions deriving from the Pentateuch. Because they are borrowed from a wide variety of Pentateuchal texts (P, non-P, H, and Deuteronomic) he concludes that GO cannot have been composed before the end of the Torah’s own evolution in the Persian period. Tooman identifies twenty-five locutions apparently borrowed from the prophets, including all three parts of Isaiah, Jeremiah (especially ch. 49), Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Zephaniah. Of the minor prophets, links with Joel are most common. Tooman concludes that GO is a “pastiche, an extreme example of a conflate text” (115), composed by a highly literate single scribal artist (115–116).

Having identified the borrowed locutions, in chapter 4 Tooman examines three *Vorbilder* (literary models or templates) that were particularly influential in composing this oracle: Ezek 28,25–26; Ezek 6,1–14; and Ps 79,1–4. Many have recognized the links with the first two. However, Tooman’s observation that elements of the plot of GO that do not derive from Ezekiel 6 stem from Psalm 79 (131) contradicts his own earlier statement: “No locution in GO can be definitively identified with a text from the Writings” (85). Now he declares that Ps 79,1–4 shares identical locutions with GO, whose dependence on the former is evident in “their corresponding constellations of images” (130).

In chapter 5 Tooman offers detailed commentary on GO. Where others divide the oracle into eight parts (most recently J. Milgrom and D. I. Block, in conversation, *Ezekiel's Hope. A Commentary on Ezekiel 38–48* [Eugene, OR 2012] 1-40), Tooman identifies seven sub-units (38,1-6; 38,7-17; 38,18-23; 39,1-8; 39,9-16; 39,17-20; 39,21-29). His detailed work here confirms his earlier conclusions that GO presents a rich tapestry of allusions to antecedent scriptures, taken from a variety of sources and genres — though without documenting sources or even signaling citations. For Tooman, “[t]he author’s genius lies in his recombination of textual elements, amalgamating and harmonizing old materials to create something new” (196).

In the final content chapter (6) Tooman explores the methods, effects, and motives underlying GO, observing that a pastiche of this size is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible. Comparable texts consisting largely of bits and pieces of antecedent texts derive from the late Second Temple Period: 1 Enoch 14,8-25, the Temple scroll (11QT) 59,2-13a, and Hodayot (1QH^a) 11,6-19. Tooman argues that the author of GO has intentionally conflated a vast array of sources to harmonize Ezekiel’s restoration oracles with eschatological oracles in other prophets. He envisions a future where evil has been eliminated, pious Israel is secure and at peace, and all Israelites are prophets. Although the final literary product does not meet J. J. Collins’ definition of apocalyptic, the combination of locutions, themes, tropes, and images has yielded a genre that resembles “proto-apocalyptic” (260).

Tooman has produced the definitive work on Gog of Magog. While few will accept his interpretations wholesale, he has persuaded me that the Gog oracle was composed as a separate document and secondarily inserted into the Book of Ezekiel. My questions arise not so much from Tooman’s presentation of the data — which is clear and as objective as scholarship can be — but from his final speculations concerning the date and context in which GO was produced (270-274). I welcome creative and imaginative readings of biblical texts, but his location of GO in the Hellenistic period (between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C.E.) is unconvincing. Responding to others’ post-exilic dating of the Sidon oracle (Ezek 28,20-26), Tooman comments, “These are all secondary arguments inasmuch as they are based upon prior assumptions regarding the dates of the source texts” (122, n. 15). We could say the same about his defense of a Hellenistic date for GO. Without offering a defense Tooman accepts “the growing consensus that it [the Torah] was completed in the Persian period” (94), which means that a text that relies so heavily on the Torah must be even later. Even if this view is right (which I doubt), many scholars would argue that the sources that were combined to produce the Torah derive from pre-exilic times. GO’s reuse of Torah materials need not presuppose a Persian-era document.

Tooman's treatment of the Joel material is equally problematic. He accepts uncritically a 5th century date for Joel (271). However, based on internal features and especially the echoes of Joel in Obadiah, it seems to me Joel is best ascribed an early exilic date. As for Tooman's interpretation of the pouring out of the spirit in Ezek 39,29, his delimitation of the significance of the divine action to "the gift of prophetic inspiration" (195, 251-252) seems too limited. First, in Joel this event climaxes a broader vision of the restoration of Israel and the renewal of the covenant (Joel 2,18-27). Second, Ezekiel does not link the outpouring of the spirit with prophecy. Third, while Tooman is correct in noting that the locution involving the verb שָׁפַךְ + רוּחִי is found elsewhere only in Joel (3,2 [ET 2,28]), Zech 12,10 is very close. Furthermore, although different verbs are used, the liquid metaphor occurs elsewhere in Isa 32,15 (עֲרִירָה) and 44,3 (יִצֵּק). Like Ezek 39,29, both contexts involve the restoration of Israel and renewal of covenant relationship with YHWH. In any case, the fact that GO borrows locutions from Joel does not require dating this prophecy to the Persian period, much less Hellenistic times.

GO's apparent dependence on Isaiah 40-66 — also deemed a 5th century B.C.E. work — is more complicated. The minority of scholars who attribute the prophecies in this section of the book of Isaiah to the late 8th century B.C.E. prophet of Jerusalem will welcome Tooman's arguments for GO's dependence as support for their interpretation of the book as a whole. But few critical scholars do so, and Tooman certainly does not. Two other possibilities remain. First, if GO is genuinely Ezekielian, and if Deutero-Isaiah is exilic and Trito-Isaiah is post-exilic, then GO could have inspired the Isaianic texts. But Tooman has assumed the priority of the latter without defending it. Second, if GO is authentically Ezekielian, the influence of Deutero-Isaiah on GO should not be ruled out. Since GO is undated but appears to draw on all segments of Ezekiel, it may reasonably be assigned to the 560's or even the 550's B.C.E. The time and circumstances of Ezekiel's death are unknown. However, if he was thirty years of age at the time of his call in 593 B.C.E. (Ezek 1,1) he could easily have lived this long. As for the influence of Trito-Isaiah, since many of those prophecies are anticipatory, scholars may have been too hasty in interpreting these as *ex eventu* oracles.

Tooman has demonstrated that GO is the latest element of the book of Ezekiel, and that the textual tradition that places this oracle before chapter 37 makes as much sense as MT's placement between chapters 37 and 40. However, I find his explanation for the date and provenance of the oracle unconvincing. He is right in suggesting that the pervasive borrowings from Ezekiel's earlier prophecies reinforce the authority of those utterances and his status as a true prophet (cf. 267). Like all of Ezekiel's prophetic utterances, GO is cast as divine speech. This oracle seems to have been intended for an exilic audience, reassuring them that YHWH's word was firm. For

those who doubted the divine promises of Israel's restoration and the divine commitment never to let the events of 586 B.C.E. be repeated, YHWH hereby offered an oracular guarantee of their ultimate peace and security.

I conclude with a few technical comments. As a whole, the book is well edited, though there are lapses in the Hebrew orthography (e.g., 41, line 5-6 word-wrap; 48, #11, חנ"ה), and sometimes the footnotes appear on the wrong page (e.g., 137-138, nn. 6 and 7). Although Tooman demonstrates a masterful command of the secondary literature, in a couple of places his bibliography may now be updated. Zimmerli's work on the recognition formula (cf. 48, 135) has been superseded by John F. Evans', "*An Inner Biblical Interpretation and Intertextual Reading of Ezekiel's Recognition Formulae with the Book of Exodus*" (Th.D. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2006). For the most recent study of LXX Amos 7,1, see Myrto Theocharous, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets*. Studies in Hosea, Amos and Micah (LHB/OTS 570; The Hebrew Bible and Its Versions 7; New York 2012) 223-239. However, none of these comments should detract from the significance of Tooman's work. He has not only clarified many riddles in GO, but has also demonstrated for the next generation of Ezekiel scholars both the value and method of responsible intertextual analysis.

1324 Prairie Court
West Chicago, IL 60185
USA

Daniel I. BLOCK

Jonathan GROSSMAN, *Esther*. The Outer Narrative and the Hidden Reading (Siphrut 6. Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures). Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 2011. viii-255 p. 16 × 23,5. \$47.50

This book by J. Grossman, a researcher at the Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv, shows itself to be an important contribution to the exegesis of the Book of Esther from the literary point of view.

It opens with an extensive and considered Introduction (1-37) which focuses on the basic elements of the methodology adopted by the author. The book then continues in seventeen chapters (38-217), which correspond to the scenes of the drama. However, the author does not intend to produce a commentary on classical lines, rather a synchronic narrative study of the Hebrew Book of Esther. It is for this reason that the Introduction confines itself to alluding to the textual question, only mentioning the presence of large quantitative discrepancies between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint (12).

Right from the Preface (vii-viii), Grossman explains that he wants to go beyond the simple observation of the literary uniqueness of Esther within

the gamut of biblical books. He is not content to assemble the superficial literary dynamics; his interest is directed towards the things which the text is concealing underneath the appearances. Thus, he notes the importance of the active participation of the reader, an "active reader" (2), summoned to search for the meanings intended by the text. The presupposition here is a reliance on the expertise of the author of Esther to scatter on the surface of the text a series of clues which urge the reader to enter into its depths.

The entire study, therefore, aims to highlight this refined literary art of concealment. In this way, it is irony (7-12) which is probably the most characteristic literary device of the Book of Esther: in fact, many scholars have spoken of its dramatic irony (133). Nevertheless, in this respect, Grossman warns us to distinguish carefully between the form and the purpose of Esther: "Identifying its generic form does not absolve us from clarifying its role" (238).

As we have mentioned, attention is concentrated on the Hebrew version of the Book of Esther, considered as a narrative of reversal, consisting of two parts which have Esth 6,1 as their central axis (14). The historical setting of the book (16-25) is that of the Jewish Diaspora in Persia. Some narrative clues lead Grossman to mark the tensions between the two groups of exilic Judaism: the one with its base in Israel and the other in Persia (207). In particular, he indicates an underlying negative judgment on the part of the author of the Book of Esther in his dealings with those Jews who did not wish to return to their native land after the decree of Cyrus (cf. 206-207; 242).

With reference to the question of the true protagonist of the story (27-37), Grossman announces in advance what will emerge from the study as a whole: if Mordecai seems to be the dominant figure at the beginning, Esther 4 signals the turning point (31-32) of the narrative and the emergence of the figure of Esther who, till that moment, has remained in a secondary position. At the end of the book, however, in chapters 8-10, Esther and Mordecai turn out to be joint protagonists. The reader can arrive at this conclusion only if he goes beyond the surface of the account which seems to impose the Persian king as the pre-eminent figure (cf. 36-37).

Following the structure of the scenes, the author indicates some narrative devices. Within the limits of this review, it is possible to point out only some of the more significant ones.

A first observation concerns the crisis of Ahasuerus on account of the disobedience of Queen Vashti (Esther 1). Grossman notes that a feminist reading of the passage is not a prerequisite for detecting that the hidden sense of the text indicates a devaluation of the woman on the part of the dominant masculine power; at the end of the account, however, this image of the woman will also be upset (240-241).

An example of what is meant by distinguishing the outer narrative and hidden reading is provided by the key figure of Esther. Superficially, her story could seem to be another version of Cinderella (65): however, for

her, becoming the king's wife is not the crowning of a dream but the means of contributing to the salvation of her people (240).

Then we have Mordecai as another central character. The reader of the Book of Esther is perplexed when faced with the announcement of the promotion of the treacherous Haman in Esth 3,1-6 (81-82), which follows precisely upon Mordecai's discovery of the conspiracy against the king. Moreover, one has to wonder just why Mordecai does not wish to genuflect and prostrate himself before the new prime minister (Esth 3,2): are his motives personal, religious or ethnic (88-90)? The doubt and the silence of the text on these obvious questions are, according to Grossman, literary devices to spur on the reader to attain the level of sense which has been deliberately hidden by the author. Certainly, the reader becomes aware of the risk which the Diaspora Jews run in living in a pagan environment.

Another example is provided by the fact that Haman will not explain to the king the way in which he intends to destroy the Jews living in Persia. Once again, the silence is a stimulus for the reader: "A narrative that conceals its message often keeps its own characters in the dark, thereby shaping the reader's sense of uncertainty and forcing him to dig for meaning beneath the surface" (98; cf. 144).

A point of interest is the way in which Grossman treats the central theme of *Purim*, the Jewish feast instituted by the Esther narrative. Superficially, starting out from the episode of Esth 3,6-7, the reader is led to believe that the story is determined by the superstitious and fatalistic actions of an ungodly man such as Haman. However, the development of the narrative will show that God upsets this perspective (97), by revealing that the reins of the story are firmly in his hands: "The most important motif of the narrative, 'The opposite took place', assumes theological significance in this context, disdaining the fatalistic pagan world view that remains unaware that God's will can turn the whole of reality upside down, so that Haman's 'lot' (*pur*) became the Jews' *Purim*" (155; cf. 243).

However, the most successful and fruitful analysis of the whole book is that which concerns chapter 4 of Esther (*The Secret Turning Point*, 111-123). In the development of the plot, emphasis is placed on the role of the eunuch Hathach, who, initially, shuttles between Esther and Mordecai, within and outside the palace: gradually, however, Hathach disappears, showing that the harmony between the two protagonists which had been lost has been found again (115-117). In other terms, Hathach disappears when Esther becomes patron of her destiny: at that moment (Esth 4,16), her call to fast has all the flavour of a request for divine intervention. Once again, the narrative dynamic hides and reveals the mysterious synergy between human and divine actions in a difficult environmental context (cf. 119).

Grossman often draws on biblical intertextuality to highlight the sense which the author of the book of Esther hides behind the appearances. For example, there is no shortage of references to the story of Moses in Exo-

dus (69-70); of Joseph in Genesis 35-50 (59-62; 210-213); of Saul and David in 1-2 Samuel (56; 69); of Ahab and Jezebel in 1 Kings 21 (107-109; 139-140); of King Jehoiachin in 2 Kings 25 (83-84); to the conquest of Canaan in Joshua 21 (187-188). However, Grossman shows himself to be rightly prudent in his assessment of the relationships between the biblical books, so that the analogies have always to be strict and constant (218-219). For example, the literary analogies between Esther and the narratives of other important characters or institutions of the Old Testament are examined: Jacob and Esau (219-222), Joseph and Daniel (222-223), Ahab and Jezebel (223-224), Joshua (225-228), the temple of Jerusalem (228-229), David and Bathsheba (230-231), and Moses and Aaron (231-232). With reference to these texts, Esther's particularity consists in the fact that the analogies are not fixed but dynamic, and have the specific purpose "[...] to convey a sense of capriciousness and instability, so that the reader feels unequipped to assess fully the situations that she reads about and the characters that she encounters" (232).

One can conclude, therefore, that in the narrative style of Esther, content is already hidden. For example, the comic or carnivalesque genre must involve a reflection of the content. The institution of the feast of *Purim* is not confined to indicating the reversal of social roles (235-237); the ultimate aim is theological, so that the most appropriate definition of the literary genre of the Book of Esther is theological carnivalesque (238-239). God is, therefore, present in the events of the Book of Esther, although in a hidden way. The importance of the choices and actions of the characters does not exclude, in fact requires, the intervention of divine providence: "It all remains subject to the dual agencies that operate through the plot, one revealed and one hidden: the free action of the human characters and Divine providence" (246).

Taken overall, Grossman's study is to be valued for its proposal and for the method of reading what is hidden below the surface of the text of Esther. This working hypothesis is certainly not without its risks, as is recognised by the author himself (11-12; 244). However, in the end, there seems to be justification for his insistence in claiming that the true message of Esther is to be found deep down, like a hidden treasure; and it has to be recognised that the reasons advanced are both full and acutely perceived. Moreover, not infrequently, the recourse to medieval rabbinic literature adds value to the argument and gives weight to some statements (73-74 *à propos* of Esth 2,10.20; 128-129 on Esth 5,8).

One sole and slight critical note is to be struck concerning the almost *verbatim* repetition of pages 121-122 on pages 125-126, probably through an oversight in the revision of the manuscript.

Geoffrey David MILLER, *Marriage in the Book of Tobit* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 10). Berlin – New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2011. viii-260 p. 16 × 23,5. €99.95

In recent years, a number of scholars have turned their attention to the study of the Book of Tobit. Two collections of essays on this deuterocanonical book, namely *The Book of Tobit. Text, Tradition, Theology* (eds. G. Xeravits - G. Zsengeller) (JSJSup 98; Leiden 2005) and *Studies in the Book of Tobit. A Multidisciplinary Approach* (ed. M. Bredin) (LSTS 55; London 2006) have appeared just in the last six years. The last two years alone have witnessed the publication of three monographs on the Book of Tobit, including the book presently under review. The discovery and publication of four Qumran fragments of Tobit (4Q196-200), the emergence of narrative criticism as a viably insightful approach to biblical texts, and the increasing awareness of the importance of Second Temple literature for understanding early Judaism may have been some of the factors that contributed to the renaissance of studies of the book.

The title of Geoffrey David Miller's study, *Marriage in the Book of Tobit*, which is a revised version of the dissertation the author wrote and defended at *Catholic University of America* in 2007 under the direction of Alexander A. Di Lella, aptly captures the focus of his study. Although there have been articles that touched on some aspects of marriage in Tobit before, this monograph is nevertheless the first extensive treatment and thorough analysis of the institution of marriage as it is portrayed in the Book of Tobit. Since the Book of Tobit is a storehouse of information on marriage and marital customs more than any other book in the Bible perhaps other than Genesis, this study contributes to the understanding of marriage and its customs in the biblical world.

Miller starts his study with the *status quaestionis* on the text tradition of the Book of Tobit and on its date and place of composition. He agrees with what seems to be a consensual view in the field that G^{II}, the long Greek recension, is likely closer to the Semitic *Vorlage* of Tobit. He then gives a quick survey of previous commentaries on, and studies of, the book as they relate to marriage. He narrows his concern by addressing four specific areas that fall under marriage, namely a) the qualities involved in the choice of a spouse, b) the process of getting married and marital practices, c) the role of God in marriage, and d) the portrait of marital relationships in the story. He concludes his work with a brief summary of his findings and observations.

These four aspects of marriage in the story take up the bulk of the study. Chapter 2 examines the qualities that a man looks for in a bride. They include fertility, virginity, beauty, love and endogamy. For Tobias the groom-to-be, it is clear that endogamy, defined as marriage to a close relative, is the chief trait to be considered when searching for a bride.

Chapter 3 investigates the elements involved in the marital process: betrothal, marriage contract, the wedding, the consummation, the feast, and the transfer to the groom's house. M. is particularly aware of the absence of, or the variations on, these elements and explains them in light of what the author of Tobit wishes to communicate to his Diaspora audience. Chapter 4 analyzes God's involvement in marriage, claiming that God's specific intervention in the marriage of Tobias and Sarah is for the sake of His people in order to assure their survival. Chapter 5 studies the story's portrait of marital relationships in which M. observes that women in Tobit sometimes go beyond the traditional roles assigned to them when dictated by necessity. Perhaps due to familiarity, the author's attempt to elucidate the roles of men is not as exciting or intriguing as the readings of the roles of women by those of the feminist persuasion.

To investigate these topics, M. employs "the historical-critical method of interpretation" as his methodology of study. It soon becomes apparent though that such a method of interpretation in fact means the combination of textual criticism and the use of Old Testament antecedent instances and extra-biblical examples as background sources to help better understand or enlighten the various claims of the book regarding marriage and marital relationships. In truth, his approach to the Tobit narrative is synchronic, which is all the more fitting. Along the way, he notes striking similarities and differences in the claims in the Book of Tobit as they compare with other Old Testament and Ancient Near East passages on marriage and marital practices.

Miller rightfully considers the book of Tobit an ancient novel, or a "fictive story" with a pedagogical thrust. In view of this, he typically ends his chapter with a distillation of a lesson for Diaspora Jews who are encouraged to go and do likewise. For instance, the stress on endogamy is a way to exhort eligible bachelors among the dispersed to deem kinship or closeness of relation the most essential quality to look for in a wife. The motivation behind such a strong emphasis on kinship is to make sure that Jewish religion and culture do not die out in Gentile surroundings. In another instance, the *verba solemnia* mentioning the Law of Moses and the God of heaven that Raguel speaks after agreeing to the marriage encourage those in the Diaspora to value what is most important in a marriage. As a final example, Diaspora readers are exhorted to turn to God in prayer, praise and petition, recognizing that success in marriage is due ultimately to divine help. These pedagogical purposes are therefore intended for the Jews living in the dispersion, which M. believes is the setting for the story. Such a context undoubtedly legitimizes his conclusions.

These didactic concerns for the Jewish Diaspora are palpable in the book. Although M. has given up the hope of determining the place of the composition of the story in his introduction, agreeing with Robert Littman that it is "impossible to decide", he nonetheless concedes that the Book

of Tobit was likely written for Diaspora Jews in the West and “possibly by a Diaspora Jew”, a position similar to that which was proposed by T. Nöldeke in 1879. The author has to accept this position on provenance since he employs marriage contracts found at Elephantine in Egypt to elucidate the background and to discern the nature and function of the marriage contract between Tobias and Sarah. As M. observes, the marriage between Tobias and Sarah involves both a contract and a dowry, “like their kinsmen at Elephantine”. But unlike the marriage contracts of their Elephantine kinfolds, the account of the marriage contract between Tobias and Sarah refers to the dowry only later in the story, in Tob 8,21. M. argues that this narrative delay of detail is meant to provide “a countercultural challenge to the traditional function of marriage contracts”, which served as mere extended receipts for the dowry. The reference to a marriage contract is to prove that the marriage between Tobias and Sarah is not concerned with wealth but is in keeping with the prescriptions of the Book of Moses. M. thus conveys the conviction that the mention of a marriage contract and the reference to a dowry in the narrative, akin to Elephantine marriage contracts, point to a likely composition of the Book of Tobit in the Western Diaspora.

But matters may not be as simple as they appear. That the account of marital customs in the Book of Tobit displays certain similarities with those found in Elephantine marriage contracts is not a strong argument for the story’s provenance in the Western Diaspora. One can easily imagine that the story writer was a Jew from Palestine who may have been familiar with such marriage contracts and practices. Like another cosmopolitan sage from Jerusalem, the author may have been well-travelled. This could explain some of his familiarity with certain marital customs outside the land. Alternatively, news of such marital customs among the Jews in the Diaspora, to paraphrase Devorah Dimant, may have reached the homeland (D. Dimant, “Tobit in Galilee”, *Homeland and Exile. Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenary Oded* [eds. G. Galil – M. Geller – A. Millard] [VTSup 130; Leiden 2009] 356-357). The writer, knowing his audience, would know which marital features to emphasize or to de-emphasize. Indeed, the story is still directed to the Diaspora but composed in Palestine.

As has been often pointed out, the narrative emphasis on Tobit’s devotion to Temple practices and the references to halakhic observances current in the land are likely indications of Tobit’s Palestinian provenance (D. Dimant, “The Book of Tobit and the Qumran Halakha”, *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* [eds. D. Dimant – R. Kratz] [FAT 35; Tübingen 2009] 121-140). Additionally, the narrative assessment of life in the Diaspora as exilic is a view from the inside looking out, and not from the outside looking in. To describe those living in the dispersion in exilic terms betrays a point of view that comes from Palestine. After

having lived there for generations, those who were in the dispersion would no longer see their present situation and life as exilic. In the story, Tobias and Sarah, children of the dispersion, in fact go on with their lives, giving themselves into marriage, observing the marital customs of their present homeland while simultaneously keeping their own religious heritage. It is highly likely that a storywriter living in the homeland with a certain theological bent looking out would view those dispersed outside of the land as being in a continuous state of exile.

Noting that the theme of love is significant in the story, M. encourages his modern readers to set aside their contemporary biases with regard to love as they are different from the biblical view of romantic love. Love, of course, is always a complicated affair. He points out that love prior to marriage is not primarily about emotional attachments but a matter of the will. Love is a decision based on qualities that are considered vital. Consequently, either a person can fall in love or love can grow without a previous knowledge of the other or prior explorations of compatibility. In this case, Tobias falls in love with Sarah because she is a kinswoman, a trait that his father Tobit has commanded his son to search for in a wife. But M. seems unwilling to stay within this biblical notion of love, unable to resist claiming that love in the modern sense happens after marriage. Since love has many senses today, what precisely is meant by love as it is understood in the modern world? What is the sense in the claim that “no matter what the nature of communication and conflict in one’s marriage, love is always paramount”? After describing and analyzing how marital relationships are portrayed in the book and observing that husbands show love for their wives in chapter 5, M. claims that “it is more difficult to discern whether wives do the same for their spouses”. Are we talking about love in the emotional sense, or love in the rational sense? And are they mutually and necessarily exclusive? Furthermore, does such an absence of portrayal bespeak the absence of love or does it betray an element of patriarchal bias that is not subverted in the narrative?

Miller has fashioned a cautious work on marriage in the Book of Tobit. In fact, he often errs on the side of caution. When the text is not as vocal on certain details, such as the absence of certain wedding customs like bathing, anointing, or mention of veil or jewelry just to name some, he normally explains them as something unimportant for the purposes of the writer or properly contextualizes them within the story. He does not engage in speculative hypothesis but stays within the limits defined by the narrative. This is a balanced, well-written and valuable contribution to the growing field of Tobit studies.

Univ. St. Thomas School of Theology
9845 Memorial Drive
Houston, TX 77024

Francis M. MACATANGAY

Novum Testamentum

Boris PASCHKE, *Particularism and Universalism in the Sermon on the Mount. A Narrative-Critical Analysis on Matthew 5–7 in the Light of Matthew's View on Mission* (NTAbh NF 56). Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 2012. xi-286 p. 16 × 24. € 50.

Initialement dissertation doctorale soutenue devant la Faculté de Théologie Évangélique de Leuven en 2009 (Directeur: M. I. Webber), cette monographie de B. Paschke se propose d'examiner, dans une perspective d'analyse narrative (23-45), ce qu'il en est de la question du particularisme et de l'universalisme dans le Sermon sur la Montagne. La conviction qui sous-tend cette recherche, c'est que le schéma reçu de l'histoire du salut dans le premier évangile (particularisme avant Pâques, universalisme après Pâques) ne correspond pas à la pensée de Matthieu sur le sujet: il repose sur une attention unilatérale portée sur Mt 15,24 et 10,6 d'un côté et Mt 28,18-20 de l'autre. D'où l'urgence de pousser plus avant les investigations, en commençant par regarder du côté du SM (11-16). Concrètement, Paschke va identifier six passages du SM relevant de cette problématique du particularisme et de l'universalisme: les dits sur la lumière du monde et le sel de la terre en Mt 5,13-16 (59-117) et la parabole finale des deux bâtisseurs en Mt 7,24-27 (179-200) d'une part; les trois références négatives aux païens en Mt 5,47; 6,7-8.31-32 (119-136) d'autre part et le dit sur les perles aux pourceaux en Mt 7,6 (137-178).

La section la plus originale de l'ouvrage réside néanmoins dans son chapitre 6 (201-233), où Paschke situe l'universalisme du SM dans le cadre de l'intrigue générale du premier évangile. Sa conclusion la plus significative est la suivante: si la mission de Jésus est de bout en bout particulariste, sans qu'il exclue pour autant la minorité païenne qui vient à lui (Mt 7,24-27), celle des disciples se subdivise en revanche en trois étapes: un début universaliste de Mt 4,18 à Mt 10,4; un temps intermédiaire particulariste de Mt 10,5 à Mt 28,17, avant de déboucher sur une fin universaliste ouverte, embrassant le temps de l'énonciation et au-delà (Mt 28,18-20).

On ne peut qu'être admiratif devant la rigueur avec laquelle Paschke gère son dossier. On est également plein d'admiration devant la richesse de la documentation rassemblée et effectivement exploitée. En un mot, avec cette belle monographie de Paschke, nous sommes devant une étude originale, des plus stimulantes, qui invite le lecteur à aller y voir lui-même de plus près. C'est dans cet esprit que l'on lira les quelques remarques suivantes.

1) Paschke se présente d'entrée de jeu comme un partisan résolu de l'analyse narrative. Il y a certes plusieurs façons de faire de l'analyse narrative. Nous nous étonnons néanmoins qu'il ne se penche pas sur la question de la stratégie mise en œuvre par l'auteur implicite pour entrer en

contact avec son lecteur. La prise en compte de cette stratégie de la communication traversant tout Matthieu nous paraît des plus fructueuses: elle permet de saisir que le narrateur matthéen veut persuader son lecteur implicite que l'ouverture à l'universalisme n'est pas un pacte conclu avec le diable (Mt 4,8-9), dans lequel Israël perd son identité, mais une mission reçue du Ressuscité (Mt 28,18). Pour arriver à ses fins, toute l'habileté du narrateur matthéen, "rusé comme un serpent" (Mt 10,16), va être de montrer que l'ouverture à l'universel est inscrite au cœur même de l'identité juive. De ce point de vue, il est loin d'être innocent que le fragment "universaliste" de Mt 5,13-16 soit immédiatement suivi du fragment on ne peut plus particulariste de Mt 5,17-19. Pour que le sel de la terre ne s'affadisse pas (Mt 5,13), le meilleur moyen, c'est d'accomplir la Loi et les Prophètes sans rien y soustraire (Mt 5,19). Cette observation scrupuleuse de la Loi et des Prophètes dans leur radicale simplicité permet de rejoindre les aspirations des païens dans ce qu'elles ont de meilleur. Cela est particulièrement visible dans la seconde triade des antithèses. L'invitation à ne pas user du serment (Mt 5,37) se retrouve aussi chez Épictète (*Man* XXXIII, 5). Sénèque (3 *Ir* 5,8) invite aussi à ne pas riposter au méchant. Nous retrouvons Sénèque (*Ben* IV, 26,1) avec la sixième antithèse. Le Jésus matthéen fait même de la règle d'or (Mt 7,12), sans doute déjà bien intégrée en milieu juif (Tob 4,15 ; *TJ* Lv 19,18 ; *M Shab* 31a), mais avant tout "une maxime morale universelle", le compendium de la Loi et des Prophètes.

2) Les trois mentions des païens en Mt 5,47; 6,7-8.31-32 ne sont effectivement pas à percevoir comme des marques d'exclusion, mais comme des signes que le locuteur pense aussi à eux. La connotation négative de ces trois mentions s'explique aux mieux par le fait que pour "Matthieu", l'accueil de la Bonne Nouvelle implique une démarche initiale de conversion (Mt 4,17), tant pour les païens que pour les Juifs.

3) Nous nous séparons nettement de Paschke qui voit en Mt 5,13-16 le premier envoi en mission des disciples (117). Dans l'univers de représentations du temps, l'envoi en mission implique une délégation de pouvoir (Mt 10,1; 28,8), faisant du "missionné" le plénipotentiaire, pour ne pas dire l'alter ego, de celui qui l'envoie (Mt 10,40). Or nous ne voyons rien de tel en Mt 5,13-16. Pour nous, jusqu'en Mt 10,1-5, les douze disciples ne sont que les sujets "dormants" de la mission que Jésus a envisagée pour eux dès Mt 4,19.

La conséquence, c'est que pour le narrateur matthéen, la première mission de ceux qui maintenant reçoivent le nom d'apôtres (Mt 10,2) prend la forme d'un envoi "vers les brebis perdues de la maison d'Israël" (Mt 10,6). Il ne s'agit pas de l'énoncé d'une exclusivité, mais d'une priorité, comme l'atteste l'emploi du syntagme πορεύεσθε μᾶλλον. Une priorité, ajouterons-nous, qui perdure jusqu'au retour du Fils de l'Homme (Mt 10,23); l'apôtre des Nations la fera d'ailleurs lui-même sienne (Rm 1,16). Les efforts désespérés de Paschke pour soutenir qu'en Mt 10,23 Jésus se réfère à la résurrection (229-230) ne nous ont pas convaincu.

4) Si nous nous refusons donc de voir en Mt 4,18–10,4 une première phase universaliste du ministère des disciples, en revanche, nous rejoignons pleinement Paschke pour dire qu'à hauteur de Mt 9–10 quelque chose change dans le ministère de Jésus. Nous sommes en face de ce qu'en analyse narrative on appelle une complication.

Jésus se doit de réagir. Le plus urgent à ses yeux, c'est le sort de ces foules abandonnées comme des brebis sans berger (Mt 10,36). Pris de compassion, Jésus leur envoie ses douze apôtres chargés de démultiplier auprès d'elles son propre ministère de prédication et de guérison (Mt 9,35–10,42). Puis, il faut régler la question de Jean Baptiste et de ses disciples (Mt 9,14–17). C'est l'objet du second livret sur le Baptiste (Mt 11,1–24). Après quoi, Jésus peut mettre en place sa nouvelle stratégie ministérielle, essentiellement marquée par la douceur et l'humilité de cœur, en particulier à l'égard de ceux qui sont lourdement chargés (Mt 11,28–30). Les controverses sur le sabbat (Mt 12,1–14) en sont une première illustration. Peuvent commencer ensuite, débutant par un beau phénomène de reprise (Mt 12,22–24 à rapprocher de Mt 9,32–34), les premières grandes controverses de Jésus avec les pharisiens.

5) Un mot encore sur Mt 7,6 et Mt 15,24. En 7,6, les κύνες et les χοῖροι évoqués sont-ils vraiment à identifier aux dangereux leaders politiques et religieux du peuple d'Israël ? Mt 7,6 est, reconnaissons-le, un logion d'interprétation difficile, dont le sens ne peut être dégagé qu'en faisant appel à son hypothétique trajectoire rédactionnelle. Au départ, nous semble-t-il, c'est un logion réduit à son énoncé initial: "Ne donnez pas ce qui est saint aux chiens". Le contexte initialement cultuel du logion paraît peu contestable au vu de l'emploi du lexème τὸ ἅγιον (voir Lv 22,14 ; Did 9,5). C'est un logion permettant à la fois de justifier l'intimité de l'assemblée cultuelle chrétienne; mais aussi – la plupart des commentateurs taisent cet aspect – de rappeler l'exigence de sainteté requise de ses participants (Did 10,6), dans la ligne de passages comme 1 Co 11,27–32.

Matthieu va étendre à l'annonce de la Bonne Nouvelle les mesures de précaution explicitées par la maxime traditionnelle dans le domaine proprement cultuel. Il met en garde son lectorat contre le danger qu'il y a à annoncer celle-ci à des personnes qui n'en apprécient pas la juste valeur. En d'autres termes, en Mt 7,6, Matthieu, pour qui l'acharnement "missionnaire" n'est pas le fait des apôtres de Jésus, mais celui des scribes pharisiens (Mt 23,15), plaide pour une pratique prudente de la prédication missionnaire. Si les Gadaréniens préférèrent leurs petits cochons à toute autre chose (Mt 8,28–29), pas de problème: Jésus rembarque (Mt 9,1). Il en est de même des consignes données aux Douze envoyés vers les brebis perdues de la maison d'Israël (Mt 10,11.23). Pour le rédacteur matthéen, la prudence dans l'exercice de la mission s'impose aussi bien à l'égard des juifs que des païens.

6) Venons-en maintenant à Mt 15,24. À notre avis, il faut cesser de voir dans ce logion l'expression emblématique du particularisme du Jésus

de l'histoire, et même du Jésus matthéen. Le sommaire de Mt 15,29-31 et la réflexion de Jésus en Mt 15,32 interdisent une telle interprétation du logion. La pointe de la péricope réside dans le fait que, finalement, Jésus cède devant la foi de cette païenne qui reconnaît explicitement la priorité dont bénéficie Israël dans l'offre du salut. Et si Jésus cède, qu'a fortiori le lecteur implicite de Matthieu fasse taire ses appréhensions devant cette ouverture aux païens qui l'inquiète tant. Elle ne remet pas en cause l'identité et le privilège d'Israël; elle conduit à la glorification par tous du Dieu d'Israël, le Dieu Unique et donc le Dieu de tous (Mt 15,31).

La réouverture par Paschke du dossier sur le particularisme et l'universalisme dans le premier évangile nous paraît des plus salutaires. Certes, nous n'aboutissons pas toujours aux mêmes conclusions que lui. Mais nos quelques remarques se veulent d'abord une modeste contribution au débat si heureusement réouvert.

Grand Séminaire. 4 Avenue Jean XXIII
F-57000 Metz

Gérard CLAUDEL

Frederick Dale BRUNER, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary*. Grand Rapids, Michigan – Cambridge, U. K., William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012. xxx-1281 p. 16 × 24. \$75 - £49.99.

Commentaries on biblical books traditionally offer an author the opportunity to provide a readership with her or his interpretation of the text under examination. Exegetical traditions (Jewish, Patristic, Medieval, etc.) and modern and contemporary scholarship generally find their place in footnotes and/or excurses (especially in German commentaries). This commentary on the Gospel of John is unique in taking an opposite approach, and is all the richer, and more useful because of that. A further endearing quality that enhances this large volume is the affection that Bruner has for the Word of God, for the Christian community, including his local community, his current university setting, and his family. It cannot often be said that a commentary exudes warmth, but this one does.

Bruner divides the Gospel into three sections: Jesus' public ministry (chaps. 1–12), Jesus' discipleship sermons and prayer (chaps. 13–17), and Jesus' passion and resurrection (chaps. 18–21). The commentary then interprets each canonical chapter, although attention is devoted to the flow of the text across those chapters. For example, even though a chapter in the commentary is devoted to an explanation of John 2, under the title "Jesus' Wine and Whip Sermons", the study of John 3, with the title "Jesus' Nicodemus Sermon" rightly opens with an analysis of 2,23-25 as a necessary introduction to Nicodemus. Similarly, John 14 is in fact a study of 13,31–14,31, John 15 a study of 15,1–16,4a, and so forth. The internal struc-

tures are generally well informed, and follow majority opinion. Despite that opinion, a case can be made for reading 13,1-38 as a narrative, 14,1-31 as the first and earliest part of the discourse, and 15,1-16,3 as a separate unit. "Majority opinion" also rules in the division of 15,1-8.9-17, despite the persistence of the verb "to abide" in vv. 9-11 and the obvious literary inclusion intended by v. 12 and v. 17, suggesting that the division should be vv. 1-11 (abide) and vv. 12-17 (love). I wonder also if John 18 is merely an introduction to the passion and John 19 its conclusion. John 18,1-19,42 exhibits a tight narrative unity that should not be missed. What we have here is an introduction and a conclusion; what of the passion itself? But these are quibbles, as the material is well covered in the analysis.

What will fascinate readers of this commentary is not the coverage of the material, which is very adequate. It is the nature of the coverage that is unique. Bruner offers his own translation from the Greek, followed by an introduction that is composed of selected comments from Christian commentators over the centuries. Ranging from the late fourth century to the late nineteenth century, he regards Augustine, Chrysostom, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Henry, Bengel, Meyer, Godet and Westcott as the "major historical-theological interpreters". To these he adds the "reigning twentieth-century commentaries" from Barrett, Brown, Bultmann, Hoskyns and Schnackenburg. I, for one, would agree with his choice of representative interpreters across the centuries. His translations are extremely novel, written in a way that should make traditional Bible readers sit up and take notice, and some grammarians and translators wonder. For example, 15,9 reads: "Just as much as the Father loved me – there! that is how much I have loved you. Make your home in this special love of mine (and relax)" (887). Similar examples abound.

He does not exclude other – and even very recent – commentaries and monographs, but his introductions are mainly drawn from his chosen list of "greats". He places statements from past Johannine reflection side by side. Reading these collections is a rich way to enter any section of the Gospel. However, there are times when the juxtaposition of positions leaves me wondering what Bruner thinks. To point to an obvious issue, what are we to make of John 21? The statements in the introduction (from Bernard, Lagrange, Schlatter, Hoskyns, Ridderbos, Burge, Lincoln and Brown) are as divergent as they are rich. It appears that Bruner wishes to read the epilogue as part of a Gospel that had a prologue, but none of this is argued with any urgency.

But perhaps the lack of urgency is another of the strong points of the commentary. After the introductions, a commentary follows. Loyal to his strong Evangelical tradition and his own background as a missionary and a Professor of Systematic Theology, Bruner is direct in his interpretations, tends to read a great deal of history behind the narrative, and makes links with later Christian doctrine and Evangelical teaching and missionary

practice very readily. Nevertheless, he is respectful of differing views, and invariably discusses major contributions on any issue under debate.

The weakness of his approach, perhaps, is that he tries to do too much. His many hours of study, reflection, and writing in the David Allan Hubbard Library at Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, California, have enabled him to read extensively, in Latin, French, German and English, as well as Greek and Hebrew. The result of this reading is that he regularly presents a number of important exegetical contributions to any issue under investigation, and then comes to a decision, either choosing one of the options presented (normally) or going out on his own with a fresh suggestion (occasionally). There were places where I would have liked to have known why one position or another (sometimes my own!) was not the chosen one. One cannot question, however, his careful work with both the Johannine text and its interpretation over the centuries, even during the sections dedicated to his own interpretations. Following the translation, introduction and commentary, mentioned above, the final part of the commentary on each section of the Gospel is dedicated to several pages of historical interpretation of whatever issue is being analysed.

There is an immediacy in his writing that is striking. In summarizing 1,1-2 he raises the question that perplexes many: "How is it *possible* for God to be a human being?" The response of the believer: "God is quite competent" (13). There will be many who are unable to accept such confidence, but that is the tenor of the book, like the Gospel itself, written for believers (see 1198-1199). It is also studded with such oddities as a translation into Hawaii Pidgin (*Da Jesus Book* [2000]) which he regards as close to continental American street talk, classical and modern music and theatre productions, movies and film stars (e.g., Gary Cooper and Grace Kelly). As a non-American (or Hawaiian) this, and several other extremely local expressions, did not ring true to me, but the vast human and Christian experience of Bruner seems to make his sometimes striking expressions and examples from popular culture second nature to him. For example, in his analysis of the Prologue, the captions that he allocates to his various divisions seem to be taken for granted, but are they true? Vv. 1-2 are "the long view", vv. 3-5 are "the big picture", vv. 6-8 are "a close picture", vv. 9-11 are "the sad picture", vv. 12-13 are "the glad picture", v. 14 is "the closest picture of all", v. 15 is "another close picture", vv. 16-17 are "the glad picture again", v. 18 is "the picture" (3-60). Bruner comes across as a man close to the people for whom he has written this book, but this immediacy can detract from the objectivity required for the exegetical task. Is the Prologue (John 1,1-18) a "picture" in any way?

The lasting value of this commentary, however, will be its contribution to the emerging importance of *Reception History*. Bruner's familiarity with the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, across many traditions, has enabled him to provide the reader with an excellent appreciation of the

way various crucial passages have been received and made part of the life of the Christian Church across the centuries. For example, he asks the question of the meaning of Jesus' giving the bread to Judas in 13,26. Rightly he comments that none of the disciples knew what he meant. Wrongly, he wants to allow the possibility that the Beloved Disciple knew, but if he did know, he did not tell anyone. The text says "no one" (*oudeis*) understood (v. 28). That must include the Beloved Disciple. But whatever Bruner might think, the reader is introduced to the thought of Chrysostom, Burge, Bartlett, and told: "If you think you are standing, watch out that you don't fall" (783-784, citation on 784). His survey of the way "the Jews" have been understood over the centuries and a succinct presentation of an emerging contemporary scholarly consensus (73-74) are equally well-informed and helpful.

It could be claimed that this commentary is too heavily dogmatic, too "historicist", too strongly attached to one theological tradition in the Christian tradition. While there is some truth in this, it is not entirely the case. On historical questions Bruner has a lightness of touch that also indicates good sense and healthy exegetical balance. For example, on the author he writes, "I believe the Beloved Disciple is either John of Zebedee himself or his close disciple or auditor. The author's own reticence about his exact identity can caution us not to be too sure ourselves about who he actually is" (783). It is a commentary in a more traditional line, not bothering with the endless debates about the history of the development of the text or the Johannine communit(ies), the possibility of a signs source and other diachronic issues that are often debated in scholarly circles. But it is deeply interested in the theology of the Fourth Gospel and its role in the Christian Church.

The lasting value of the book, however, will be its service to both scholars and Christians in its presentation of almost two thousand years of faith-filled, yet contested, readings of this perennially fascinating Gospel text. I will be returning to it regularly to see what the past has said about any particular passage or Johannine theme. A full bibliography (rather than the list of major abbreviations and sources) would have helped, but he does provide rich indices of names and subjects. The warmth, passion, deep faith, "down-to-earthness", and even humour that fill these pages make its consultation and reading a positive experience, whatever one might think of Bruner's final decisions on matters exegetical.

Australian Catholic University
East Melbourne, Victoria,
Australia

Francis J. MOLONEY

Mark GOODACRE, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas's Familiarity with the Synoptics*. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2012. x-226.

After passing unchallenged for some time, the influential paradigm of Koester and Robinson's *Trajectories through Early Christianity* is presently meeting stiff resistance. If their conception of primitive diversity has enshrined itself in the study of Christian origins, and fascination with non-canonical traditions has grown apace, the acceptance of an aboriginal wisdom gospel, unacquainted (or unconcerned) with Jesus' death and resurrection, requires some elaborate hypotheses. It is at this vulnerable and foundational point — centered upon a controversial theory of the development of the sayings gospels, *Thomas* and Q — that opponents are directing their strategic fire.

The most recent objection comes from Mark Goodacre, who now links arms with Simon Gathercole to present an imposing front in the newest wave of Thomasine scholarship. Goodacre and Gathercole (whose major monograph, *The Composition of the Gospel of Thomas*. Original Language and Influences [SNTSMS 151; Cambridge 2012] was released just a few months before Goodacre's) both labor to shift attention away from the Coptic text back to the earlier Greek recension preserved in the Oxyrhynchus fragments, exposing in the process the speculative difficulties of form-critical reconstructions. While Gathercole's contribution has provided a new line of positive evidence for the composition of *Thomas* in Greek and directly countered Nicholas Perrin's daring proposal of a late Syriac origin — which reaches too far in resisting the "early and independent" view — Goodacre has, for his part, compiled the most straightforward and sustained statement to date that *Thomas* knew (and thus postdates) the Synoptic Gospels. As an expert in the Synoptic Problem, Goodacre brings to this debate his unique qualification as a Synoptic source critic and the studied confidence to disagree with widely accepted conclusions. He remains irenic, however, and, as demonstrated in his earlier works, Goodacre reveals himself to be an admirable pedagogue. His text provides a sufficiently technical discussion, engaging secondary literature and the original sources; yet he pitches the argument at an accessible level, progressing with transparent logic, coining memorable concepts along the way (e.g. "plagiarist's charter"), and providing translations of all Greek and Coptic texts.

The book's argument spans ten chapters and can be divided into three basic stages. First, Goodacre mounts the case that a definite literary relationship (not just common oral ancestry) exists between *Thomas* and the Synoptics. Next, he argues for the direction of this literary dependence, highlighting the "diagnostic shards" of Matthean and Lukan redaction evident in *Thomas*. Finally, he examines the implications of his thesis for understanding the redactional profile of *Thomas*. While few of the arguments or positions are entirely new (a point that he admits), Goodacre has nonethe-

less collated and strengthened the overall presentation to a significant degree. Ultimately reviving the early thinking of Grenfell and Hunt and upholding their original proposed dating, the text adds welcome nuance and invigorated reasoning to the date of around 140 that Perrin complained has often been asserted but never adequately defended or explained.

Goodacre's presentation of the case for an actual literary relationship is obviously foundational, and it first dispenses with a series of preliminary objections: genre, order, and tradition history. Of these three, the last is the most important; and though Gathercole has addressed the issues more thoroughly, Goodacre's response underscores a recurring point he makes throughout the book. It does not matter how much material from the Synoptics does *not* appear in *Thomas* — nor how much material in *Thomas* has no parallel in the Synoptics. It is enough to find some (any!) compelling signs of familiarity. This principle paves the way for his positive affirmation, which hangs on two important arguments. First, expanding an observation of John Meier, Goodacre stresses the impressively wide distribution of early gospel sources represented in the text of *Thomas*: a supreme unlikelihood on the premise of independence. One finds Triple Tradition, Double Tradition, Triple Tradition in which Mark is not the middle term (i.e. "major" agreements between Matthew and Mark), Special Matthew, Special Luke, Special Mark, Matthean additions to Mark, and Lukan additions to Mark. (The existence of Q is obviously a point of dispute, on which Goodacre's views are known. While he acknowledges that rejecting the Q hypothesis helps his case, this position is intentionally suppressed in the text and left to the footnotes. His descriptions of gospel traditions are accordingly neutral, though he presupposes Markan priority.)

The second point Goodacre highlights is vital, but frequently minimized by authors like Patterson and DeConick. Significant stretches of verbatim agreement exist between *Thomas* and the Synoptics. This, Goodacre recalls, is the same incriminating fact exciting the whole Synoptic Problem. He is keen, however, to insist that the rare volume of exact agreement characteristic of the Synoptic tradition must not be held up as the minimum bar. Source critically speaking, a smoking gun need not fire off so many rounds. If the prominence of the Coptic edition diverts attention from this basic datum of verbal agreement and complicates detecting its full extent, the solid evidence of the extant Greek text (e.g. P.Oxy. 654.15-16, 25-26, 29-31; P.Oxy. 655 [Col 2.19-23]) must not be overlooked or blithely discounted. In a poignant reminder to the academy, Goodacre thus recalls that the story of the rediscovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* is not in fact the sensational and oft-told drama of Muhammed 'Ali in 1945, but the account of two Oxford fellows rummaging through a heap of old papyrus leaves until they suddenly recognized the (rare) word *κάρφος* from the Gospels.

The evidence Goodacre marshals for Synoptic redaction in *Thomas* resumes a familiar style of argument, including some familiar examples — though he does offer an original and extended treatment of *Thomas* 79. (For a number of the Lukan examples, see S. Gathercole's article "Luke in the *Gospel of Thomas*", *NTS* 57 [2011] 114-144). In certain cases the claim could no doubt be strengthened. John Meier, for instance, has now expanded the consideration of the Rich Fool (*Thomas* 72 + 63) and the Parable of the Wheat and Weeds (*Thomas* 57) with several interesting observations (see J. Meier, "Is Luke's Version of the Parable of the Rich Fool Reflected in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*?", *CBQ* 74 [2012] 528-547 and Idem, "The Parable of the Wheat and the Weeds (Matthew 13:24-30): Is *Thomas*'s Version (Logion 57) Independent?", *JBL* 131 [2012] 715-732). Nonetheless, the cautions of C. Tuckett ("Thomas and the Synoptics", *NovT* 30 [1988] 132-157) will surely cause some to hesitate, and certainly here a basic fault line will emerge. Not only will there be difference of opinion over what constitutes redaction (e.g. Koester imagines that δεκτός is not Lukan in Luke 4,24, let alone in P.Oxy. 1), as well as lingering doubts about later assimilation to the canonical text. The implication will be resisted that, even granting the presence of some "diagnostic shards", *Thomas* thereby depends on the Synoptics *in toto*.

Against this decisive hesitation Goodacre is more suggestive than conclusive. His strategy is to stress the properly literary character of *Thomas*. The oral aspect of the work, specifically, appears to him to derive more from its genre as a sayings Gospel than from anything actually known about its transmission. (He is keen to observe how the unknowns of the text tradition might conceal evidence as likely to undermine form-critical assumptions as to endorse them.) At the same time, he insists that the scribal culture of early Christianity must be more recognized for its dynamic interplay of both literacy and orality ("text and tradition"). On this score, he is certainly right to point to the integration of elite elements within the mechanics of Gospel tradition, exposing the simplistic (but common) exaggeration which opposes uniformly "oral" versus "literary" cultures. In this connection, Goodacre calls into question the precision and utility of the category of "secondary orality"—an idea deployed (inconsistently) by scholars on both sides of the debate.

An entire paradigm of tradition history is obviously under judgment here, and plainly much more needs to be said. An important start, however, is made in Goodacre's rapid but engaging comparison of *Thomas* and Justin on the phenomenon of the "missing middle", a shared pattern of poorly executed abridgment. If the objective is ultimately to contest neo-Bultmannian trajectories, it is precisely here that some real traction might be found, as J.H. Wood has recently suggested (see "The New Testament Gospels and the Gospel of Thomas: A New Direction", *NTS* 51 [2005] 579-595]). Justin is a hinge in Koester's vision. The first real witness to a

culture of written Gospels, Justin also confirms a still unstable Synoptic tradition as late as the mid-second century. The older work of A.J. Bellinzoni — whose perspective is closely aligned with that of Koester — is regrettably missing in Goodacre's brief treatment, which gives insufficient attention here to the prospect of early harmonizations; and the question whether *secondhand literacy* is a more accurate model than "secondary orality" is also a place where Perrin's efforts might be profitably redirected, both on the question of gospel harmonies as well as *Thomas*' intriguing affinities with the Western text. But this is intricate work.

The dispute over *Thomas* is sure to remain lively, but Goodacre and Gathercole are shifting the terrain. Their interest in the Greek text equalizes discussion of Synoptic influence, while helping to dislodge *Thomas* from its interpretative anchoring at Nag Hammadi. Of those readers uncommitted to a position in this debate, many will be convinced by Goodacre's skillfully made case. For those inclined to disagree, better arguments and new objections will be necessary.

The University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, IN 46556, USA

Anthony GIAMBRONE

Varia

Yitzhaq FEDER, *Blood Expiation in Hittite and Biblical Ritual*. Origins, Context, and Meaning (Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series 2). Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2011. xii-309 p. 15 × 23

The interpretation of sacrificial rituals and their various aspects continues to be a topic of much scholarly debate. In *Blood Expiation in Hittite and Biblical Ritual*, Yitzhaq Feder, lecturer at the Department of Biblical Studies at the University of Haifa, makes an important contribution to this discussion by focusing on the biblical sin offering and its Hittite antecedents. As the title of the book indicates, Feder devotes his attention primarily to the ritual element of blood application; other ritual elements receive only marginal attention. Moreover, the author is generally interested in the meaning of rituals and their individual elements.

In recent decades, sacrificial rituals have received much consideration from biblical scholars. In this corporate endeavor it has been customary to single out the biblical sin offering and examine, for example, its contribution toward cultic atonement with special attention to the Day of Atonement rituals (cf. the scholarship of J. Milgrom; also R.E. Gane, *Cult and Character*. Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy [Winona Lake 2005]) or socio-cultic implications of its ritual activity (cf. W.K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible*. Meaning and Power [Baltimore 2004]). There have also been attempts at investigating the Hurro-Hittite and other ANE origins of this specific type of sacrifice (cf. the scholarship of M. Weinfeld, B. Janowski, V. Haas and, once more, J. Milgrom). Feder's study falls within the larger context of these *religions-geschichtliche* approaches and builds on them.

The book is organized in two major parts that are subdivided into seven chapters and supplemented by a brief introduction, an extensive conclusion, a bibliography, a glossary, and various indices. In chapter 1, Feder sets the stage for his study by exploring selected Hittite rituals and their purpose, while chapter 2 deals with several ritual texts in the Torah and the Book of Ezekiel. Commonalities between the Hittite and biblical traditions regarding ritual activities and their purpose are discussed in chapter 3. For instance, Hittite texts describe a blood (*zurki*) ritual which is often accompanied by the activity of cooking the fat of the slaughtered animal, designated as an offering to the gods; blood rituals in the context of the biblical sin offering (חטאת) specified in Lev 4–5 are also followed by the burning of the suet of the animal, an activity that is occasionally accompanied by the interpretive phrase “as a pleasing aroma to YHWH”. The Hittite birth ritual of *Papanikri* of *Kummanni* serves to appease a deity in case of sin or impurity of the parturient or her parents; biblical

laws for the purification of the parturient have the function of providing expiation (כפר) on her behalf (Lev 12; Feder prefers the term 'expiation' to 'atonement'). Another Hittite birth ritual requires the use of two birds, one of which is offered to the path while the other is offered for purification; then the blood of the birds is applied to the birth stool. The biblical purification ritual of a person with skin disease also requires the use of two birds and blood application (Lev 14). In the Hittite *Šamuha* ritual, a cow, a female sheep, and a goat are dispatched in order to remove evil from a royal family and a temple, and in the ritual of *Ammihatna*, a defiled temple is being purified as well. They resemble in particular the biblical rituals at the Day of Expiation (Lev 16) according to which sin offerings and the scapegoat cleanse Israel's sanctuary from sins, impurities, and 'defiant transgressions'. Do such analogies provide evidence for an actual historical connection between Hurro-Hittite and biblical blood rituals? By adopting M. Malul's methodological framework of coincidence versus uniqueness and of "the existence of a viable medium for the transmission of ideas between the two cultures" (263), the author affirms such a connection and finds further corroboration in the observation that adjacent cultures like those of ancient Mesopotamia and Greece lack similar blood rituals.

Moreover, chapter 2 features Feder's opinion on the literary development of the Priestly sources and their dating. He holds that P precedes H (and the latter reinterprets P). He also suggests that certain cult passages in the Torah are better understood in the context of early local sanctuaries than that of the later national temple with its centralized worship. He finally assumes that the Book of Ezekiel represents a late stage within the Priestly tradition.

The second part of this book deals with the origin and transformation of expiation in connection with the blood rite. In chapter 4, Feder focuses on the meaning of Hittite and Israelite blood rituals. In search of an adequate methodological foundation, he assumes that the efficacy of rituals is determined by their quality as signs that have the power to influence impersonal forces for a specific purpose. Feder expounds the problem of recent developments in ritual theorizing according to which rituals are either ambiguous or void of any meaning or symbolism. He counters such views by means of a complex theoretical approach partially indebted to social sciences, key to which is the observation that the symbolism of signs typically "emerges as a natural outgrowth of the sign or gesture's significance in the material existence of a culture" (265). On the other hand, such symbolism develops historically from the concrete to the abstract with the result that its original connotations become obscured. Thus even if semiological systems were readily understood in their initial socio-cultural context, they may appear increasingly arbitrary at a later time. In light of this, the author's goal is to "employ a diachronic frame of reference in order to pursue an understanding of the blood rite in its original historical context" (165).

In chapter 5, therefore, Feder investigates the meaning of the biblical concept of expiation (כִּפּוּר) in relation to blood rituals. He posits that the most prominent context for the latter is the ancient talionic practice of blood compensation in case of homicide; hence blood became associated with notions of payment. In an analogous fashion, then, the concept of expiation evolved through four distinct stages: from its original meaning of appeasement via the second stage of expiation for bloodguilt and the third stage of cultic expiation to the fourth stage of expiation for sin, found in prophetic and wisdom literature and the Psalms. In this chapter, the author also tackles the problem of the proper understanding of Lev 17,11, a central passage in H on the connection between expiation and blood. Challenging much of traditional rabbinic exegesis and recent biblical scholarship, he questions the translation of נַפֶּשׁ as 'life' or 'life force' and claims that this term instead means '(vital) spirit'. Thus in later midrashic reflections on P rituals, H provides its rationale that the ingestion of blood is prohibited because it contains the animal's 'animating soul'. As this passage most likely refers either to the well-being offering or to all types of sacrificial offerings, it should not be understood as explaining expiation in the specific context of the sin offering.

In a similar way, chapter 6 is devoted to the topic of expiation in Hittite blood (*zurki*) rituals. Feder searches once more for original concepts that he recognizes in appeasement and compensation for bloodguilt which have evolved to purification and consecration. Interesting concepts of mechanistic retribution are found in Hittite Law §6, a parallel to the biblical law for expiation of unsolved murder in Deut 21,1. The main difference is that the Hittite tradition allows for monetary compensation. Feder concludes "*that the mechanistic conception of blood retribution and its corresponding expiation is the native context for the expiatory use of blood*" (239, italics original).

Feder summarizes his investigation in chapter 7. He repeats that biblical blood rituals originated in what is today southeast Anatolia and northern Syria during the Late Bronze Age. The process of their translation and transmission attests to the cultural and religious exchange between Hittites and Semites. For the latter, P adopted these rituals as instruments of autonomous purification while H added interpretive comments; the process of transmission continued in later Judaism with legal exegesis and in Christianity with allegorical interpretation.

This detailed study succeeds in providing a compelling rationale for the origin and meaning of biblical blood rites and expiation. In doing so, it offers fascinating glimpses into the distant past of Hittite religion and demonstrates its influence on Ancient Israel. The reader is rewarded with the important insight that these distinct cultures had enough cross-cultural exchange to share rituals epitomizing their religions. Feder also does a superb job in describing the unfamiliar world of sacrificial rituals for a mod-

ern audience and rendering the process of deriving meaning accessible to non-experts. Various charts and tables arranging parallel texts side by side to conveniently illustrate comparable aspects help this endeavor and allow the reader to follow his sometimes complex arguments. I therefore highly recommend this book to students, teachers, and scholars and have added it to the reading list of my own graduate course on biblical atonement.

I have, nevertheless, a couple of critical comments that by no means diminish my praise for this excellent study. First, I am not entirely convinced by the argument that נפש is better translated as “(vital) spirit”. The distinction of the term in a more abstract sense as “life” or “life force” versus the more traditional and perhaps personalized sense ‘spirit’ is relatively minor and does not seem to warrant Feder’s rejection of older rabbinic and recent biblical exegesis of the axiom in Lev 17,11 that blood as “life” effects expiation. Second, when investigating expiation (כפר) as the function of cult rituals, the author draws various conclusions about this concept in the Hebrew Bible at large. He corroborates his inquiry mainly through an in-depth analysis of blood rites and related goal formulas. However, a close reading of several Priestly texts about the sin offering, for example its ritual law (Lev 4,1–5,13), the rituals for the parturient woman (Leviticus 12), or the complex rituals of the Day of Expiation (Leviticus 16), reveals that expiation frequently appears as the result of both the blood rite and the burning rite on the altar of burnt offering. It would be valuable, therefore, to study also the contributions of other ritual components to arrive at a yet broader and more multifaceted understanding of expiation in the Hebrew Bible.

130 Christopher Road
Saskatoon, SK S7J 3R9 (Canada)

Christian A. EBERHART

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